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# Grievances Memorial

WITH A RELATIVE :  
Exposition of the NATIVE  
QUESTION



Submitted to the Right Hon. the Prime  
Minister, and to the Union Government  
of South Africa, by Members of a Dep-  
utation of the Bantu Union of the Cape  
Province, July, 1920.

PREPARED AND EDITED BY  
A. K. SOGA  
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As only a limited number of this pamphlet has been printed, subscriptions toward the expense of this publication are solicited from friends and sympathisers.

Subscribers of 10/6 will get the book.

Address :

M. PELEM, Esq.,  
P.O. Box 46,  
QUEENSTOWN.



# PREFACE

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## GOVERNMENT AND MORAL SANCTIONS.

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"The Thrones of Ignorance and Ancient Night  
Lose somewhat of their long usurped power;  
And Freedom's lightest breath can make them shiver  
With a base dread that clings to them forever."

The Parliament of the Union of South Africa has by its recent declarations accepted the responsibility of dealing with the Natives in a spirit of tolerance and justice. This announcement has come none too soon. Under the circumstances, we have a right to expect that these principles will be clearly embodied in the Constitution in some form that will be agreeable to all parties to the "Contract of Union," and which will satisfy the conscience of the civilised and Christian World.

Referring to his visit to France during the War, Sir Thomas Smartt said he was convinced that a new world was shaping, and that those who took part in that War, especially the toilers, would expect, and rightly expect, that the industrial and social problems would at the end of war be settled on an equitable basis.

General Smuts, entertained to a social and presented with an illuminated address by his constituents, said: "One experience borne in on him was that the world was not for the rich. If there was one thing completely disproved, and which experience had shown to be wrong, it was the desire on the part of mankind to accumulate wealth. They were getting into a new world, into a world where there would be more justice, more social justice. That would be the main result of the recent tremendous events. Kingdoms and Empires had disappeared, but they would see, and their children would see, a much better world where there would be a better distribution of the good things. The world would not continue to be divided into haves and have nots. . . . ."

Whether in their mental purview these statesmen included the coloured races we do not know, but they will fit the Bantu as applied to the family of nations and the Union of South Africa.

## THE REAL BASIS OF UNION.

These observations remind us of similar remarks made by the late Right Honourable W. P. Schreiner, thrown out as a warning and a prophecy to the delegates proceeding to the famous Convention at Durban on the Draft Act of Union. Speaking at a farewell dinner at Capetown (October, 1908), that distinguished son of South Africa said: ". . . I venture to make the prophecy that unless the work of the Convention brought out as a vindication for a United South Africa that fundamental principle of right, and freedom, and justice to the people of the country, no matter what their colour might be, then the work of the Convention would be vain, and it would be a castle built upon the sand." And Mr. J. M. Orpen, replying to those who sneered at Mr. Schreiner's words as being "a counsel of perfection, sentimental and impracticable in statesmanship," stated the

## Dedication :

TO

MESHACH PELEM, Esq.

*President of the Bantu Union of South Africa.*

Whose long and disinterested services on behalf of the Bantu people are the admiration of his friends both black and white. "Open thy mouth for the dumb in the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction. Open thy mouth, judge righteously, and plead the cause of the poor and needy."

*Proverbs.*

*"Mpilo ndintle roti lo Hlanga  
Ndadi yezi zib 'ezoyikekayo,  
Mahamb 'engahamb 'engapento  
Kub' e twel' ubuhle nodumo lo-Hlanga."*

Rev. Warner Yako.



Ring out old shapes of foul disease,  
Ring out the narrowing lust of gold;  
Ring out the thousand wars of old,  
Ring in the thousand years of peace!

. . . . .  
Ring in the valiant man and free,  
The larger heart, the kindlier hand!  
Ring out the darkness of the land,  
Ring in the Christ that is to be!

*Alfred, Lord Tennyson.*



## COMPOSITION OF DELEGATION

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The following are the names of the members of the Delegation appointed by the "Bantu Union of the Cape Province," to present the "Native Grievances Memorial" to the Government of the Union: M. Pelem, Esq., President; Dr. W. B. Rubusana, Ph.D., Vice-President; Rev. J. S. Mazwi, Vice-President; P. T. Xabanisa, Esq.; A. K. Soga, Esq., General Secretary.

### "SECUNDI"

Rev. T. B. Soga and A. Z. Mazingi, Esq.

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# GRIEVANCES MEMORIAL

With a Relative Exposition of the Native Question

## CHAPTER I.

Your petitioners are deputed by the Bantu Union organisation of the Cape Province, by a resolution passed at Butterworth on the 16th July, 1919, and confirmed at Umtata on the 17th March, 1920, to wait upon the Government personally, and bring to its attention a statement of certain disabilities imposed by the laws and systems in force in this Dominion which bear harshly upon the people, with a view to securing their removal or modification, and the initiation of definite reforms.

### THE BANTU UNION OF THE CAPE PROVINCE.

The Bantu Union represents the older associations at the Cape which were divided by European politics, but which have now decided to unite on common causes involving the national life, progress and welfare of the Bantu, and non-white races, inhabiting South Africa. And in dealing with questions affecting the relation of the races generally, they would seek to approach them rather less on racial grounds, as Natives *qua* Natives, but from the higher standpoint that we are all British subjects equally with the rest, and all of us members of one body within the Empire, without regard to race, colour, or previous condition. The disabilities complained of will be developed in the course of our narrative, their simple statement being sufficient, in our opinion, to convince the Government in some cases of the necessity of immediate relief, and in others your petitioners will suggest reforms for consideration by the authorities, being less concerned with recriminative criticism than with finding a *modus operandi* to a constructive policy for the future. We also desire to co-operate with the Government in seeking the peace, happiness, and prosperity of the whole people of South Africa. We desire to speak frankly in regard to these important matters, keeping an open mind. At the same time we trust that if the truth is harsh it may find an antidote in suggestions which will assist the Government in dealing with these vexed questions. We are aware that the present Government cannot be justly saddled with mistaken policies which are a legacy of the past, except in so far as it unnecessarily perpetuates these.

### PARTY POLITICS.

And with regard to the Native Question in relation to Party Politics, it is likely that Party Politics will always retain a place and purpose in the economy of our national life, and therefore to endeavour to exclude that question from Party Politics is to forget that it will force itself upon public attention, for it has dominated the minds of statesmen and politicians since representative Government was first conceded at the Cape of Good Hope. We would like the Government to enunciate a clear line in Native Policy, for hitherto the administrative policy of the Government has always seemed to us to be indefinite, lacking vigour except in wrong directions, sometimes violent, mostly indifferent, lacking vision except to

see things from an abnormal perspective, without continuity, a mixture of fears, evasions, and prejudices, with no strength of character or moral force, it has never yet risen of itself to the difficulties of the situation confronting it, or sufficiently weighed the immense injuries it is thus entailing upon the indigenous races of South Africa. Unfortunately, Party Politics afford no worthy response in this country to our appeals for fair play and just treatment in the solution of the problems of the State, not alone because we are not directly represented in any of the States of the Union, nor because we are excluded altogether from representation of any kind in three of the States, nor yet because we enjoyed the fullest and freest opportunities and equal rights in one State (the Cape Province) before Union, but because we are not yet in a position to make any impression upon those selfish partisan interests in Parliament which turn a deaf ear to our demands, and override our claims for consideration by sheer weight of their influence, which has always been and is now opposed to our freedom as a race. The difficulty of securing our constitutional rights or of retaining even those which we now enjoy at the Cape are under the circumstances insurmountable. We are therefore taking the constitutional method of approaching the Government by deputation before seeking other direct methods of protecting ourselves from the degradation sought to be enforced on us by the corruption of degraded politics and partisans, at whose hands our interests are neglected or submerged.

In taking a survey of the immense difficulties and tremendous tasks awaiting solution, difficulties which may prove a retribution for past errors, we realise that these will assuredly require to be handled in a broad minded, liberal spirited, and magnanimous manner by men who are capable of holding together the different elements which constitute our cosmopolitan race types; men who are capable of dealing with these problems and adjusting their relative claims in a manner perhaps no other white race has yet been called upon to do. What is the Imperial relation to these? What relation do the Natives hold to the British Sovereignty? Are they, as formerly, to be regarded as "friends and fellow subjects and citizens of the British Empire"? If so, what guarantees have been taken or granted for their protection in that relation? in the full rights of citizenship accorded by Ordinances in Council and other covenants with the Imperial Sovereignty aforesaid. These questions cannot be obscured, but they are complicated by a series of acts or omissions on the part of British and Colonial Ministers at different periods of our recent history which will require investigation by competent jurists in order to sustain their justice and constitutional conformity, a very necessary duty, having regard to the fact that the King personifies to the Bantu races, and, in fact, all the races of the African Continent—Law, Justice, and Order. We feel that these acts, errors or omissions on the part of the custodians of delegated authority (the supreme and sacred authority of the Crown) are responsible for the continued peace and order, or otherwise of the unsettlement of the Union. If, as we are led to believe, the authority of the Crown has been transferred to the Union of South Africa, which stands "in no way under the Government or Parliament of Great Britain," and rests entirely in the Government that commands the support of a Parliamentary majority in the Union to whom is Parliament responsible? To the people? What people? Is it the whole people, or the white people alone, and by whom and from what authority have they derived these delegated powers, and what connection or status have the Bantu in such a Union? These are some of the questions that require elucidation and placing upon a definite and satisfactory footing. We hold firmly to the belief that the reconciliation of the diverse races, and the reconstruction of South Africa on a sound and lasting basis, cannot be accomplished by the submersion of the citizen rights of any section, or the denial of equal rights to all civilised men, irrespective of race, colour, or previous condition. The past war which has just been waged was professedly fought to save civilisation and Christianity, not



for one section, class, or race, but for all mankind. We shall expect that these worthy sentiments will be applied broadly to include the Bantu also.

Two or three things go to create anxiety in the conduct of the white peoples since the Anglo-Boer War. (1) The Bantu have not been consulted with regard to legislative changes affecting their vital rights and status. (2) Their petitions have been ignored or rejected. (3) Their exclusion from a Union in which they have no direct representation, and the refusal of His Majesty's Ministers to entertain their appeals to His Majesty the King, afford legitimate ground for grievance. There is also the highest evidence available in Reports of Commissions like that of 1903-5 (Lagden Commission) on Native Affairs, that representation in native tribal life was a first principle, and is no discovery of an advanced age, and it is the root and reason of communal life amongst the most backward races. In fact, it is the natural outcome of family life, and is a fundamental law of human creation. From whence, then, comes the monstrous doctrine that the Natives of South Africa might be denied representation in order to preserve the Union? People who hold such views are either too simple and credulous, or they are ignorant of existing precedent, and thus prove themselves unfitted to govern impartially, because they cannot govern themselves. Or it may be that it was a covenant with death and an agreement with hell on the part of the adversaries of Native liberties. And now we find that in the recent legislation in the Cape Province which gives the franchise to women, the Native women, who may be qualified, are excluded merely on the ground of the colour of their skin. The question, therefore, as affecting the Imperial Government with us is—"How came it to pass the Act of Union without stipulating for some fair provision for the protection of our civil rights (a) by confirming those already existing; (b) extending similar rights, or rights in some effective form in Natal, Transvaal, and Orange Free State, where the British Government was under a special obligation to ensure those rights under the powers and authority vested in the Sovereignty? For example, the Sovereign had the right to exercise the Veto; to direct the High Commissioner; to control the Foreign Office; the deciding voice in the Peace Terms of Pretoria, and it was to England alone that the Natives always looked for guidance, protection, and assistance in their need, and their need was always the more urgent because public opinion in South Africa is largely influenced by those who are interested in the perpetuation of abuses for material ends. Moreover, such Native policy as exists has been formed upon the needs of the whites, and not upon the requirements and necessities of the Natives also, or their ultimate welfare. The caprice of Party Politics, therefore, offers no remedy for the inequalities, injustices, and hardships incurred by the Natives. Social and political changes are usually slow of movement, more especially with a backward people like the Bantu, many of whom are in the transitional period recorded of the sixteenth century, "when light and darkness, truth and error, are so mingled that, in the words of the prophet, 'it is neither day nor night,' or those others on whom 'learning is but casting a dull light,' and who have 'no desire for instruction, preferring the pleasures that time and leisure permitted on every possible occasion.'" This affords no reason, however, why fresh burdens should be imposed upon them.

#### UNION AN ESSENTIAL OF NATIONAL LIFE.

Representing the enlightened elements among the Natives, chiefs, headmen, and people, the Bantu Union will endeavour to mobilise the minds of the people, in order to educate the masses as rapidly as possible upon all matters affecting them: political, industrial, and social, especially agriculture and allied questions related to their internal local development. As union is therefore an essential of national existence, it is especially the duty of intelligent educated Natives to seek such a definite constructive policy in regard to the management and administration of Native Affairs as will appeal to right-minded people as worthy of adoption,

for if our legitimate wants and aspirations remain unheeded our future interests will be fatally compromised. The Government is itself deeply involved in the evolution of any constructive reforms in the civil and industrial services, and other spheres of public operation, for it is, or ought to be, the policy of the Government to assist in all those objects having for their aim the amelioration of those conditions which are generally (if erroneously) included in the term Native Question. We would, therefore, respectfully request the Government to instruct the Magistrates not to place needless difficulties in the way of our organising the districts, as our aims are legitimate and in harmony with the spirit of the times, and in accordance with the expressed wishes of the Native Chiefs and Headmen. The principle of Union has been accepted and recognised by the Government in relation to Trades Unions and other Industrial Associations, and we claim on behalf of our people the same rights and privileges as have been extended to the Unions. We have reached a period when it is our duty to review our position in order to organise a Constitutional resistance to the encroachment of evils which threaten to deprive us of rights and privileges which we have hitherto enjoyed under the Sovereignty of Great Britain, as British subjects. We have a solemn duty to the rising generation to leave them a heritage of ordered freedom, and sound Government, so that they will be able to discharge those duties to the State which devolved upon their fathers, and which make for national health and safety in a well balanced State system, in common with the rest of the inhabitants, as citizens and free subjects.

#### THE WORLD'S PEACE CONFERENCE.

There was a general feeling on the part of the Natives that they should be represented in some form at the World's Peace Conference, for as it seemed, "for good or ill another world was coming to the birth," and the whole Universe was undergoing fundamental changes. The tremor of these movements was felt among the Natives of South Africa, rousing within them new impulses, responsive to the spirit of the times. Several Conventions were accordingly held, notably at Toleni, in Transkei (16th December, 1918), and Queenstown (22nd January and 26th February, 1919), at which it was decided to send delegates to England to memorialise the King. At a subsequent meeting at Butterworth (16th July, 1919) it was further resolved that the original decision be suspended pending a submission of our grievances to the Union Government, and this was confirmed by the Conference at Umtata (17th March, 1920), when delegates were elected for that purpose. These movements were spontaneous, arising from a general feeling that certain rights are denied us, discriminating laws set up which single the Natives out for exceptional treatment, and the educated and cultured classes among them to humiliating and degrading restrictions, whereby sacred ordinances have been contravened, solemn obligations ignored, personal injuries suffered, public security threatened, and other injustices sustained which seek to deprive us of protection within the State and form just cause of protest and appeal.

#### THE UNION GOVERNMENT.

There were those who believed that we had not used all legal and Constitutional means of testing the unconstitutional activities of the Union Government. Therefore they urged that we should first represent our grievances there. We are frequently advised by our learned Judges that the British Constitution gives us full liberty of civil action and free speech just for the purpose of preventing deeds of violence, and we are compelled to exercise these liberties to the fullest extent, and instead of taking the law into our own hands, seek for those legal methods of protection which are afforded by all the laws of civilised countries. Is this true in fact as regards the Natives? The removal of those safeguards which were wisely erected in the interest of the common peace and order in a community of



differing races and standards of civilisation is, and has always been, regarded by us with deep concern, more especially where passing over their own boundaries our adversaries seek to encroach upon those rights granted to us aforetime by an Order in Council of the King's Royal grandmother, and other Ordinances and Statutes preceding her reign. We refer to the Franchise Question in the Cape.

## THE WAR IDEALS OF ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

When the civilised world emerged from the shadow of a terribly devastating war, the like of which has never been experienced in the world's history, we felt that in common with other races the time was opportune to demand extensions of liberty, freedom from the tyranny of the few, and the granting of equal rights in all things essential to the qualified; without distinctions of colour or race. We had followed with profound interest the operations of a war between civilised and Christian races, having regard to the importance of the issues devolving upon the results of the conflict, and the great sacrifices incurred by Great Britain and the Allied Nations ostensibly to bring freedom and liberty to all the nations of the earth; to destroy militarism; and to bring protection and education to the backward peoples who were to be treated with justice, and in due time entrusted with a share in their own Government. "A devastating war, marked by ruthless barbarity and fiendish cruelty, has swept over that portion of the world which has boasted of the highest development of human civilisation. We have seen a nation in which the Reformation first took root display a revulsion against Christianity, and set up as a national creed the doctrine of irresponsible force. In order to conquer that gigantic evil the coloured people twice tendered their services, and twice were those services refused by our Government on the ground that it was a white man's war. Eventually, however, we were invited to take part in the great struggle, and were made the associates of Powers that did their best to crush militarism and brute force."

The Armistice sealing the fate of the Empire of Germany was signed on the 11th November, 1918, and hostilities ceased on all fronts. It was announced that a Peace Conference that would decide, as far as it was in man's power to decide, the world's future for peace or war would sit at Versailles. We joined with those who rejoiced in the hope that this great Conference of the Powers would ensure a better, saner, truer, and more beautiful world for generations to come. The entry of America into the war was a presage of victory, and having contributed her share to the "blood sacrifice for the liberty of the world," we believed that her presence in the discussions of the important questions involved in the reorganisation and reconstruction of a new world, and the application of the principles for which she so nobly stood, would not be without their influence in ameliorating the condition of the backward races, and not least those of South Africa. We craved to communicate our views frankly to the people of England, her Allies and the United States, who, having experienced the full meaning of war, in all its terrible ruthlessness, would with equal courage, energy, and resolution face the issues of peace in attempting to achieve the noble objects of those heroes who laid down their lives in the great and glorious cause of freedom for all mankind, and whose names are written in imperishable records as having sought to shape the world afresh, and make new destinies for men. We have felt that it was essential at such a period of reconstruction that we should know what were the means to be adopted as a result of this post-war conference to remove the anxieties which overshadowed the lives of millions of His Majesty's Native subjects, and to hear the reaffirmation of certain principles which had ruled our lives and fortified us in times past as resting upon the impregnable foundation of the British Constitution, the right application of which is in the highest degree essential to our future peace and happiness.

## THE PEACE OF VEREENIGING.

Ever since the Peace of Vereeniging we have been smarting under a deep sense of injustice, borne with fortitude and patience in the loyal belief that authority, partly submerged by the more pressing claims of sectional interest, partisan intrigue, and party clamour, with other selfish aspirations of race greed and ambition, was pledged by the honour of England to protect our rights and opportunities. For many years we have been making appeals, protests, petitions, and sending deputations to the Imperial Government at great cost with regard to those questions which we always believed were secured to us by the pledged word and honour of the British people, their Parliament, and the Crown as trustees of our rights and vested interests, and based upon the sure foundation of justice and Constitutional law: rights of security of lands, of personal liberty, of property and citizenship, and the extension of these to those of our brethren in the Northern States of the Union who had qualified for them under the conditions imposed by the old Cape Constitution.

### CONGRESS AND GOVERNOR SIR H. H. HUTCHISON.

One of these petitions was submitted by the Native Congress Executive (Cape) to the King while the Anglo-Boer War was still in progress, through the Governor, Sir Walter Hely Hutchison (May, 1902) praying for a Royal Commission to investigate Native grievances. It was set forth *inter alia*, as follows:—

“We trust that His Excellency will see the necessity of this step which appears to be warranted by, amongst other things: (1) The approaching reconstruction of South African Affairs, which is one of the main principles put forward by the Unionist Party at the elections now proceeding; (2) the obligation resting on the British Government of making itself fully acquainted with the practical working of Native Affairs in order to be in a position to render that effective protection to the weaker races which has been the professed object of her sovereignty; (3) to establish uniformity as far as is practicable in the laws and general treatment, and to introduce and maintain a healthy system of Government. There is no desire to claim equal rights for Natives at large, the great mass of whom will be under the tutelage of the Governor.”

To that petition no reply was vouchsafed. Be that as it may, the Congress Executive expressed the voice of intelligent and loyal British subjects who had a right to speak, by virtue of their citizenship, as educated voters and taxpayers of the Cape Colony, and to claim the ordinary civilities due to respectable petitioners.

### THE FRANCHISE LAW IN THE NEW STATES AND THE CAPE.

Their view was that the best way in which the Imperial Government could help to solve the Native problem so-called, was to insist that the Franchise Law in the new States about to be brought within the Empire and the Sovereignty, should be as at the Cape, viz.: that colour should not exclude, but that a reasonably high standard of education, plus the possession of a certain amount of property, would qualify for the vote. Thus the raw barbarian and unlettered man would be excluded as being “in pupillaris,” while the man who had risen into a higher stage and got a stake in the country would be treated fairly and given a position in the State. Our protests, however, have been consistently ignored, our petitions invariably jettisoned, and our personal appeals to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty barred by his Ministers, acting with the advice or by direction of their compatriots in South Africa. Such a condition of affairs in a Union which was about to be formed at the expense of the exclusion of the



Bantu races as a factor in the contract, did not appear to us at that time to be conducive to a stable form of Government, and we are now afraid that similarly the victories of war which were discounted against us at the Peace of Vereeniging by the arts of diplomacy and the claims of expediency, and which contrived to submerge the Native Question during the whole period of the Milner-Chamberlain post-war regime, will in like manner leave us stranded once more. Whatever hopes we may have cherished as promising some measure of larger freedom to our kindred in the Northern States who were groaning under the tyrannous systems of the old Republics, resuscitated with still harsher features by the monied interests at the Rand, and which we had a right to expect for services rendered to the British cause, sufferings endured, and injuries and losses sustained during the war, and which have never been adequately recompensed, have been rudely dispelled. The beautiful vision has departed long since, leaving in its place the masked visage of evil purpose and a hateful tyranny which increases with the years.

#### THE HIGH COMMISSIONERSHIP.

We have always understood that a special obligation rested upon the Imperial Government to protect the rights of the Bantu, especially those who have been excluded from adequate representation in the other Provinces, or who, because of their ignorance or backwardness, were always regarded as wards of the Crown. To them the King represented the sacred figure of justice, law, and order, and it was ostensibly for their protection that the office of High Commissioner was first established during the War of the Axe (1846) and the Native Chiefs made oath of submission under the first clause, viz.: "To obey the laws and commands of the High Commissioner as great chief or representative of the Queen of England." The Bantu peoples have had no formal intimation of the abolition of this high office, although the more intelligent amongst us have observed with surprise its failure to perform its functions during the Milner-Chamberlain regime. Nor do we know who arbitrates the Native Question, or what exactly our position is under the Sovereignty. What we do know is that the foundation stone of South African Native reform and progress has been hitherto the steadfast maintenance of British supremacy which formed the corner-stone of our loyalty, and its adherence to the principles of justice, freedom and equality, which signified in those days equal rights and protection for all. We have observed that while our allegiance is unchanged, the whites of South Africa, as represented by Unionists, Nationalists, and South African Party, and the Labour Party, have shifted their ground, and a new and unfamiliar attitude has been assumed towards the black and coloured races. Moreover, we have the strange anomaly forced upon us that in attempting to deny equality to civilised natives, the British Government has been induced by His Majesty's Advisers to shuffle out of its protective obligations and to retreat under a plea that there shall be "no interference in the internal affairs of South Africa." We shall have more to say about this abandonment of the Natives of South Africa in this extraordinary manner.

#### REPUBLICANISM.

On the other hand, the leader of the National Party (General Hertzog) informs the country that his section of the whites do not know what their rights are, and says that the Empire in South Africa is placed in grave danger because General Botha and his Ministers had purposely left the people of the Union in the dark as to what is really the rightful position of this Union to the British Empire. He and his party accuse Union Ministers of holding totally false views and conceptions as to the relations of South Africa to Great Britain; accuses them of preaching false doctrine, aided by the ultra English Press; and maintains that the Union stands in no way under Great Britain or its Parliament and Govern-

ment, and in this he appears to be borne out by the present Prime Minister (General Smuts) in his frequent references to the "higher status" and absolute independence of the Dominion of South Africa. We still believe, however, that we have rights and principles even if temporarily obscured, and we intend to maintain them in the discussions of the Native Question.

#### BANTU RENEW THEIR ALLEGIANCE.

We therefore renewed our allegiance to His Sovereign Majesty the King at Queenstown, at a time when the whole civilised world was rejoicing at the prospect of securing the fruits of victory in the shape of the "blessings of ordered freedom and enduring peace." These resolutions were respectfully submitted to His Excellency the Governor-General, and by him transmitted to His Sovereign Majesty, who was graciously pleased to announce his pleasure at the same. We have no opinion to offer about Republicanism, except to say that we shall expect formal notice when our lords and masters decide to change the form of Government under which Natives, loyal to the Sovereign and Crown of England, have lived in comparative peace and tranquility since Responsible Government was first granted to the Cape. As loyal subjects, our first duty is to the Sovereignty of England. The Coloured races will not easily forget that we owe most of the liberties we enjoy to-day to the "nobility of character and humanity" of the late Queen Victoria the Good, the motive force behind her statesmen, which regulated and controlled their actions. The prestige of her exalted character which exerted an influence which was described as "moral rather than political," strengthened those healthy attributes of justice and purity in Government, and in the social laws, which made for the protection of the Natives from those vexatious and oppressive measures which would otherwise have been imposed upon us. Equally she may have been the means of preserving the British race from persevering in those dishonest practices which have been initiated by British Governors before the days of Lord Milner and Mr. Chamberlain, and of which we are unfortunately complaining to-day.

#### TREATMENT OF NATIVE DELEGATIONS.

We were, therefore, surprised at the ungenerous treatment extended to the various deputations which have been sent overseas at important crises to lay our petitions at the foot of the Throne. Our loyalty to the Sovereignty of Great Britain has not merely been lip-loyalty, and if our appeals appear to reflect upon those in authority in South Africa, perhaps it might also have been wise for them to examine themselves and see if these methods are calculated to bespeak the purity of their motives, to enhance their reputation as the ruling caste, or to sustain the highest traditions and prestige of Royalty unsullied. The action of the King's advisers in preventing the successive deputations which have left these shores prompted by legitimate grievances against which they have no effectual remedy from approaching His Majesty the King, must reflect on civilisation. Amongst savage tribes, the most august were always approached at important crises. Such deputations, even if undesirable, and because they are so, were usually dismissed with a few kindly, diplomatic phrases, rather than leave them to exploit their grievances with added chagrin among their thousands. The great French and American nations pride themselves upon the approachability of their Presidents and the cynical disregard of the race pride of the Bantu nation, who are looking on, places our relations to the Sovereignty in a still more difficult and delicate position. It must be remembered that we are thinking men, and while we desire to honour the Kingship, we cannot reverence authority used in such an unskilful and unsympathetic manner. The ignorance of the Colonial British Unionists on these phases of national virtue has already cost them the loss of political influence, and it may cost them and their allies in the Union Cabinet



greater loss yet before they are done with the Native Question. Contrast these methods with the declarations of General Hertzog: "The time has come when a clear attitude towards the Cape Coloured people should be adopted." Or the words of his coadjutor, Dr. Malan: "We realise too how necessary it is for the attainment of our ideals to procure the co-operation of the Coloured population; they, too, belong to the permanent part of the population; they are a great asset for the country, and their interests are in large measure the same as ours."

#### EQUAL RIGHTS SOUTH OF THE ZAMBESI.

These utterances, well described as among the boldest declarations made by any Party leader since the formation of the Union of South Africa, are, in our estimation, only exceeded by the famous declaration of Cecil John Rhodes, which was at once a challenge to the enemies of democracy and an inspiration to its friends: "Equal rights for all civilised men South of the Zambesi." Alongside the conflicting utterances of other Party leaders on the future of South Africa and the Native Question, these statements are greater than mere prophecy and visionary promises of good times coming, for they are practical, not prophetic; visible, not visionary; convincing and authoritative, wise, and worthy of the highest statesmanship. That is what we are seeking in Native Affairs to-day, for they recognise that "reparation should be made to the weaker races who have been robbed of their freedom, as a matter of common justice, apart from legal quibbles and jugglery." And if it is held that these utterances only apply to the Cape Coloured section, we might remark that the underlying principle will fit the Bantu also.

#### THE ANGLO-BOER WAR AND AFTER.

Ever since the Anglo-Boer War there have been influences at work subversive of those principles which, under the Providence of God, have hitherto redounded to the honour of the British Sovereignty, and contributed not a little to the safety and well-being of the inhabitants of this sub-continent. The pressure of these evil influences, sometimes silent, at other times blatant in the Press, in Parliament, in the mouths of public speakers, in legislative Acts, manifest themselves in vehement ebullitions of anti-Native sentiment, and in too many cases in deeds of meaningless violence, agitating public feeling at recurrent periods, and rousing gusts of popular passion, which, as in the case of the "Black Peril" scares, surprise and confound us, and are regarded by the mass of our inarticulate people as symptoms of race madness hard to be understood in a people whom we have been led to believe are "primus inter pares." We have it on the authority of the Prime Minister (General Smuts), in his speech on "The British Empire" at Johannesburg (August 13th, 1919), that the war was not one of armaments alone, but of ideals, and that those high ideals had triumphed. All races and all colours had fought in the war, not merely because they wanted to put down their neighbours, or to conquer some other people, but because they wanted to achieve victory for certain principles and certain ideals. "We know (said he) that victory has been achieved, and the world will be able in future to live in freedom and men will be able to govern themselves, and each one will be able to develop according to his own ways, and enjoy peace according to his own light." These noble words strike a hopeful note, but they are pathetic in view of the past errors and neglects of statesmen. The Native Question still lies before us, although it is dragging behind, and in the great struggle with anarchy and reaction it will require all the energy, self-sacrifice, and devotion which can be brought to bear upon it to preserve the ideals of "justice, humanity, respect for law, consideration for the weak and ignorant, chivalry to enemies, and the observance of good faith to all."

We have always felt that the Government itself is imperfectly informed on the social aspects of the Native Question, and that public

opinion requires instruction, for public opinion in this country means the opinion of the whites, and most of the evils confronting the people—"the people" being taken in its larger sense as inclusive of white and coloured, arise from regarding the Natives from false perspectives. This engenders false beliefs, false policies, which might be avoided in great part if the country could adopt the new code, set up by the Prime Minister on his return from Europe, viz.: "That civilisation is one body, and we are all members one of another." Thus in the words of that distinguished soldier-statesman: "A new spirit of generosity and humanity may be born in the hearts of the people of the Dominion of South Africa." Whether "the people" in this case means the whole people is left to conjecture. It will require in due time to be made clear.

That being the spirit in which the war was fought, the Natives assisted in the operations of the war from a sense of duty, their only regret being that they were not afforded larger opportunities to contribute to the defence of the Empire, under whose benign rule they have enjoyed the rights of freedom and equal citizenship at the Cape of Good Hope since the time when Representative Government was first granted in 1853. They felt greatly encouraged by unexpected tributes to their loyalty and good conduct during the war, which fell from the lips of the King, and the Prime Ministers of the Imperial and Union Governments. It is, therefore, a cause for regret that under the circumstances we should be compelled to announce certain grievances which threaten the social peace and order, as well as the existence of our race in any capacity than that of helots.

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## CHAPTER II.

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### THE BANTU LABOUR BRIGADE.

The recruiting of this Corps was offensive to the "esprit" of His Majesty's educated subjects. Our offers of direct service in the fighting ranks were unaccountably refused, presumably on the false grounds which have kept us out of the National Defence Force of the Union, which prefers to regard us as a people apart. The laudable object of assisting the Imperial Government in a great war would have been more fruitful of results had there been more general confidence exhibited in those among us who represent the more advanced classes. Recruiting would also have been more rapid if carried through on a Territorial basis by granting commissions in each Magisterial district to suitable representatives of Europeans and Natives selected locally by the people themselves in conjunction with the Army representatives. Instead it would seem that bureaucratic influences prevailed, centralising the work in the hands of men of a low opinion of Native capacity, and with a peculiar favouritism which preferred to elevate the raw and unlettered, too often the sweepings of the locations and towns, above their educated compeers. They succeeded in insulting the self-respect of the latter, and reflecting adversely upon the cause of education and progress. Moreover, it was observed that the Colour Bar had even penetrated a profession in which the most honourable are called upon to stand up for the interests of the State and offer their lives a willing sacrifice.

Our men were thus shepherded behind wire fences in France under inferior white and black men, some of whom were constitutionally unfit owing to their insular prejudices from having the control of brave men. It was no small matter for people to engage in a war in which they had no say, and made no preparation. It is, from the Native point of view, a rather grotesque circumstance to ask people who are heavily taxed and



oppressed in other ways to do something in the great fight for liberty. Nevertheless, many offered their services willingly, and a white House of Assembly rose to its feet as a mark of respect for those who died in the "Mendi." Liberty is always worth fighting for, and liberty gained in one part of the world helps the cause of liberty everywhere. We have also to learn the value of liberty, and that it is not merely something to enjoy, it is so precious that it must be upheld even at the cost of a blood sacrifice. If the nation's response was not greater, the blame must lie at the door of our white neighbours.

#### DUTIES AND REWARDS.

We also feel that sufficient has not been done for those who crossed the seas. It was no small thing for men, many of whom were mere lads, to undertake an ocean voyage and work in strange lands among strangers, under unsympathetic officers, and amid new and unfamiliar experiences. But loyalty was stronger in the hearts of their parents, who sent them forward at the call to bear their share in the common duties and sacrifices, and most willingly have the black and coloured members of the Empire served in the trying climates of German South and East Africa, in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, in England, France, and elsewhere; wherever duty and danger called. And if any one should ask what the coloured man has done for South Africa and the Empire, let an eloquent contemporary speak of his work, his disabilities, and his expectations in the following terms:—

"In South Africa he has cleared the soil for his white master. He has planted the vine so that he may be demoralised in nature and character by cheap vile poison. He has built railways and helped to feed them so that he may be humiliated and insulted when fate compels him to travel by them. He has gone down into the bowels of the earth to dig for gold so that white labour unions may come into existence and thus oust him from skilled trades. He has taken out of the earth diamonds so that German students may be sent to Oxford to learn of the greatness of the British Empire. He is taxed for the education of the white child so that 300,000 non-European children may grow up in ignorance and barbarism. He remained loyal to the British flag in South Africa, so that he may be handed over to his traditional enemy; and, finally, he again rallied round the flag in the great war, left his child behind to grow fat on twopence a day, so that he may do his duty to the Empire, the Allies and civilisation. He awaits his reward with his usual patience. But we hope that the long overdue recognition of the incalculable services rendered by non-Europeans to South Africa will not be delayed very much longer. Until that is forthcoming, we should insist upon equal opportunities for developing according to our endowments and for enjoying life according to our capacities. We must protest against any curtailment of our rights in that direction, whether they be political, educational, industrial, or social."

It was against these men that the Colour Bar was brought into operation on the battle fields of France. It is from the "untutored children of Nature" that, as "The Clarion" (Cape) says, "scabs" in the worst form are drawn by the French for work in the Ruhr Valley, "for the uneducated Senegalese is nothing more than a military serf in the service of a capitalistic Government to instil awe into all those who dare work for a change in the French Constitution."

#### A BLACK REGIMENT.

Some of our men are entitled, as far as their capacities permit, to first choice of official appointments for work, and their parents to a small pension, especially of the deceased. Others could be found billets as platform police to regulate native traffic and help their ignorant people in entering and leaving important entraining centres. Others as waiting-room attendants, railway porters, waiters on native passengers, etc., etc., and they

ought to wear a medal or star to distinguish them if they had the sympathy of Government. Of these things they would speak to their children and inspire them with loyalty to a generous State. Of course, the Bantu have their own obligations to perpetuate the memory of the heroic dead. They are committed to a war memorial in some form in England, France, and South Africa by a resolution of a Convention of the Bantu Union at Queenstown (26th February, 1919).

And in relation to the terrible disaster that happened on the 21st February, 1917, in the English Channel, by the sinking of the s.s. Mendi Transport, with 615 units of the Native Labour Contingent to France, a survivor (European) wrote: "The intelligence and capabilities of these men are much higher than is generally allowed them. The majority died like heroes with general calmness and self-possession." We shall ask the Government to think of these things, and in the interests of the defense of the State, to provide for the nucleus of a Black Regiment in the Defence Force Act.

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## CHAPTER III.

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### THE SURPLUS POPULATION AND THE PASS LAWS.

The problem of the surplus population and how to dispose of it confronts the statesmanship of South Africa to-day. The evil began with Governor van Riebeck (1652), when the white man first encroached upon the black man's territories. Governors Van der Stell, Plettenberg and Tulbagh saw the Hottentots reduced to a degraded servitude, and the Bushmen exterminated. If we would understand the Pass Laws we should consider the methods of Government of which these laws were a legacy. The tragedy of the Bushman race, which we need not follow, ranks among the darkest chapters in the relations of black and white. The habitations of these nomads were systematically surrounded, their men folk butchered, and the women and children distributed among the farmers as menials and domestics. This is one of the tragedies associated with cheap labour, and whenever the farmers cry out about labour the mind instinctively reverts to those sad scenes. One hundred years ago the landed proprietors, land-drosts, fiscals, clerks, and peasantry, Dutch and English, ruled the country and ordered its Government through an army of civil and military officials who were deeply involved in the perpetuation of slavery for selfish economic reasons. The principle of human liberty was recognised by the law of Holland and the Government of Batavia in regard to the aborigines who were addressed as a free people. We have the same tradition of the Free State before the Anglo-Boer War, and although, owing to the weakness of the Central Government, oppressions were winked at, a feeble protection was afforded to the oppressed. But the oppressions at which the Dutch first connived have, under the English Government, obtained the sanctions of law. Here we have the real secret of Native unsettlement at the present day. The prejudices of the Boers, in great part an illiterate peasantry with some primitive beliefs which however perverse and inhuman, might excuse them on the plea of the Lord of Humanity at the Cross; the prejudices of these simple people, themselves the victims of the weakness of their own early Governments, have been exploited in such a way as to strengthen the hold of those who use the traditions of British justice for their own private ends; to keep alive irreconcilable hatreds between the other members of the community; and the Natives, being drawn into these disputes between the Boer and Briton, have suffered immense injury. As long as the Hottentots were useful as a foil to the



Dutch, their grievances were dealt with righteously and in accordance with law, but when the Dutch realised that the English had come to stay permanently, they made peace with the Mammon of Unrighteousness, and the protection formerly extended to the oppressed was now turned into the Pass Laws. The increasing demand for labourers at the Cape gave rise to the "commando system," a villainous instrument that struck with terrible effect.

#### ORIGIN OF THE LAW OF PASSES.

As the system frightened away the Natives beyond the frontiers from seeking service with the Colonists, the Pass Laws were introduced by proclamation of the Governor, Earl Caledon, in 1809. Section XVI. embodies the real Pass Law founded on the Proclamation of 17th October, 1797, respecting soldiers, sailors, servants, and military deserters, and under it any Hottentot going about the country on whatever errand could be held up, so that everybody could demand his or her pass, and in case he had none, deliver him up to justice. Certain infamous additions were made by a proclamation of Sir John Cradock, in 1812, introducing stricter registration of Hottentots, and their families, including bastard Hottentots and free blacks, who were deprived of their children by a system of apprenticeship favouring the farmers. Thus robbed of his cattle, of the land of his fathers, of personal liberty, and of the product of the soil, and left entirely at the mercy of those whose interest it was to cheat and oppress him in every way, to fill up the measure of his sufferings he was deprived of his only earthly consolation—his children. If ancient Governments were distortions, what can be said of those which in this 20th century seek to perpetuate those conditions? It was a knowledge of these things that led the Native delegates to the Low Grade Mines Commission to say: "The suspicion is widespread that these complicated Pass Laws, Labour Contracts, Colour Bars, etc., are parts of a system which aims at reducing the Natives to civil and industrial servitude. A conflict is thus raised with those who are determined to safeguard the Natives from economic impoverishment and no satisfactory relations are possible between employers and workers until a more liberal attitude is adopted."

If people would see the Native Question as a whole they must grip its main features and endeavour to martial them into a consecutive whole, by no means an easy job in a brief survey. The Pass Laws are a link in the chain of problems which make up the Native Question, in some cases the invention of necessity for the protection of the public order, especially in congested industrial centres. But in the manner and method of their application, especially at the Rand, they show their true colours.

#### THE HOTTENTOTS REDUCED TO SLAVERY.

Thus were the Hottentots reduced to slavery and their nationhood suppressed. Beginning with a fraudulent transaction, at which the officials chuckled, and which transferred the whole of the valuable lands in the neighbourhood of Capetown and its environments from the Hottentot Chiefs to the Central Government for a few paltry pounds; succeeding policies developed into outrages, including the forcible seizure of their cattle; the fraudulent absorption of their lands; and the eventual degradation of the race; the Government itself being implicated as it is to-day in the undoing of the Natives by disabling statutes. Brandy also came in to do its share. Van Riebeck, who saw its advantages when he was a surgeon on former voyages with the Dutch Fleet, himself brought out as his first cargo, when he assumed the reins of Government at the Cape, brandy and tobacco. The Dutch East India Company also early realised its value as a staple article of European colonisation. So do our own Governments, as a good revenue producer with quick returns. Moreover, it is congenial to that tired feeling from which so many "Christians" are suffering in the trying climate of the Great Thirst Land.

Of the Hottentots, that great Englishman, Sir John Barrow, who was Secretary and Auditor to the first British Government of Lord McCartney at the Cape (1797), relates:—

"The opposition of the Natives (Hottentots) seems to have given them (the whites) little interruption. They soon discovered the predominant passion of this weak and peaceable people for spirituous liquors, and a bottle of brandy was a passport through every horde. With this and tobacco, iron, and a few paltry trinkets, they purchased a part of the country, and of their stock and cattle, and then took the rest by force. Deprived by their passion for intoxicating liquors and baubles of the only means of existence, their numbers began rapidly to decline, and the encroachments of the settlers were in proportion to the diminution of the obstacles. A law was therefore passed dividing up the country into farms and homesteads, no homestead to be nearer than three miles from another, so that each farm consisted of more than five thousand acres of land rented at the rate of something less than a farthing an acre."

Of the Bushmen, probably a few tabulated skulls in the British Museum minister to the pride and the curiosity of an all conquering civilisation.

"And someone laughed: men heard the laugh  
Across the earth and sky."

And observes Alexander Wilmot with laconic brevity: "At the close of the Eighteenth Century the Hottentot and Bushmen enemy were disposed of, but the Kafir had risen on the horizon and had to be dealt with."

#### PASS LAWS ILLEGAL.

As for the Pass Laws, they are constitutionally illegal under Ordinance 50 of 1828, in their application to free men; and similarly all Acts or Ordinances in restraint of trade or personal liberty are "ultra vires" under the British Constitution or within the Empire. Great Britain contrives to avoid responsibility by pleading Responsible Government. That is a question of jurisprudence opening up a wide field, and unexplored regions of graft and pernicious practice. Nor do we expect that the high constitutional questions raised within the Empire can be rightly solved, excepting by the Senior Partner to this Union of South Africa, who resides at Westminster or somewhere about London. But we have it from a good English authority (W. T. Stead) that: "If there is one privilege which citizenship of an Empire is supposed to confer upon all its subjects, it is the right to travel and trade on equal terms with all other citizens in all parts of the Imperial Dominions." We should like to hear this refuted as a principle of civil law or ordinary justice.

Ordinance 49 of 1828 admitted into the Cape Colony, under certain restrictions, persons belonging to tribes beyond the frontiers, and regulated their terms of service and conditions of labour as free labourers. Similarly, Act 23 of 1857, and others, were set up to prevent Kafirs entering the Colony without passes. These are the foundations of the present passes issued by Magistrates, and as a means of identification for the raw heathen and ignorant classes, and to prevent vagrancy they have undoubtedly served a useful purpose, especially during times of frontier disturbance. But respectable citizens and taxpayers will not put up with the incivility and harshness which are associated with the abuse of the system in the Transvaal, and the conduct of the subordinate officials, trap-boys, detectives, and others who have evidently most to say about them.

#### PASS LAWS AT THE RAND.

On the Rand they have become an outrage and a menace to self-respecting and law-abiding persons, their womenfolk and children, until the word "Pass" is a badge of servility or an implication of crime. "We



are not prepared," said Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, when he was cajoling Mr. Chamberlain to hand over the Natives of this sub-continent to the Capitalists for political and industrial reasons. "The white people of this country are not content to erect this Native Question into an impossible problem, and an overwhelming menace." What guarantee have we that they are not doing so now? The problem of the Pass Laws, which is merely a problem of unregulated and unrestrained white savagery parading in the form of law and order at the Rand, has been responsible for riots and public violence, with their other concomitants which, as usual, operate to the injury and undoing of the blacks. In spite of the exoneration of the Police, we prefer to believe those independent witnesses who observed their conduct in operation. The Johannesburg "Star" animadverting on the unnecessary violence of the Police and the deplorable behaviour of certain white citizens, said: "The Police endeavoured to ride over the Natives in all directions, striking at them with their staves whenever the opportunity offered. Native women were ridden at just as fiercely as the men."

Other Europeans of undoubted standing and authority, Messrs. Rich and Hosken, concurred in describing it as "a wholesale and impartial bludgeoning, unspeakably brutal and disgusting, and entirely unprovoked." It is to the credit of the Europeans that there is still a body of stalwarts among them who are not afraid to protest against mob Government.

Formerly, certificates of citizenship were issued by the Governor of the Cape, subject to renewal annually, but by Act 17 of 1864 every certificate of citizenship shall continue in full force so long as the same shall lawfully remain in possession of the person to whom it was issued. It would be a courtesy on the part of the Government if it would make an appropriation of funds for the issue of such permanent certificates, beautifully engraved and embossed with the great seal of the Union of South Africa, to every free burgher citizen and taxpayer, without reference to colour, residing within the Dominion. It would be a prize and passport for all time and a free entry into any civilised part of the world. It would also have the effect of raising the esteem of every man and woman in South Africa for the country of their birth or adoption.

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## CHAPTER IV.

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### BRITAIN'S OBLIGATIONS TO THE ABORIGINES.

From the Hottentot, Holland's Mountains, which were supposed to demarcate the first line between barbarism and civilisation, the extension of "natural frontiers" went on apace. The great Karoo was crossed, the Gauritz and the Gamtoos, and thousands of square miles were seized from the aborigines; Governor van Plettenberg fixing an arbitrary boundary at the Fish River at one stride. Tradition says that the Kafirs lived for upwards of a century on amicable terms with the Dutch settlers, some as servants and dependents, others owning herds of stock, cattle and goats, which they grazed in unoccupied parts of the country, although on the frontiers disturbances were common, and "mutual hostility and depredations continued to subsist between the Kafirs and the Christians."

There is some colour of truth in the allegation that the Kafir vee-kraals extended southward to the vicinity of Swellendam. The struggle for the dispossession of the Bantu from these territories is the history of the relations of black and white in South Africa. A tragic history illumined by deeds of noble fortitude and courage on the part of the warlike and virile tribesmen, in which civilisation cannot be credited with showing any

special high degree of gentleness, forbearance, generosity, or chivalry in its relation to so-called savages. Nevertheless, there were many examples of individual heroism, self-sacrifice, eminent services rendered to the cause of suffering humanity, and sympathy on the part of members of the white community which saved the credit, character, and reputation of British and Dutch alike. The philanthropists and the Exeter Hallites were there—the salt of the earth, and the saving clause between humanity and the brute creation. They stood between contending forces as a strong obstacle to unrestrained barbarity, which is only another way of saying that God rules in the affairs of men and nations.

#### EXETER HALL AND A NEW AGE.

Does anybody sneer at Exeter Hall? Mark him among the Junkers and Tories, the mad dogs of annexation and war. "We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of right conduct, and responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations as are demanded of individual citizens of civilised States." These words of the great President (Woodrow Wilson) furnish a definite text for our future relationship. Exeter Hall's all right. Perhaps they would like to turn this country into a South American Republic, where every man carries a pistol and bowie-knife, and revolutions "turn up like quarterly school holidays." Well, they can have their choice. The country will respond to any treatment which the whites desire of it.

We prefer to stand by those who say: "If by Empire or Dominion we are to understand Caesarism, reaction, ascendancy of a dominant race over all other peoples, it must be opposed by all legitimate means. True sovereignty recognises that in order to prevent the invariable disasters attending unregulated commercial and industrial contact between people who differ widely in civilisation and enlightenment, the more backward races must be protected from oppression and other evils."

The resilience of the aboriginal Natives of South Africa has ever been a source of wonder and confusion to the advocates of machine-gun civilisation. Lord Caledon and succeeding Governors, backed by the martial pomp and power of the Horse Guards and placing trained veterans in the field who had fought perhaps with Wellington in the Peninsula, or in the Crimea and India, were not always invulnerable to the assegai or the astuteness or diplomacy of the sons of Phalo and Kauta. Policies and measures of presumable extermination were frustrated by a thousand contingencies, but the natural frontiers always moved and shifted until at length they were driven out of the old Colony across the Kei. The British Government, always reluctant to assume further responsibilities, would have willingly abandoned South Africa, but the fear of annexation by foreign Powers of territories bought at the cost of much blood and sacrifice, and the stigma of deserting the whites, and the commercial interests acquired, all contributed to a continuation of a policy which was forced upon her by circumstances over which she had no control. Destiny had evidently marked her out for some great purpose.

#### LORD GLENELG AND GOVERNOR DURBAN.

Statesmen of these days too often appear to forget that England's presence in South Africa was controlled or modified by certain moral obligations to the Aborigines, which is well indicated by the famous despatch of Lord Glenelg, His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, to Governor Sir Benjamin Durban during the war of 1834-5. This war (Hintsa's War) was brought to a peremptory close by positive orders from the King (William IV.), and ended in the recall of that Governor. The injunction from the authorities in England was in these words:—



"Sympathising with every just and honourable sentiment of the subjects of the British Crown, His Majesty has commanded me to express his solicitude for the protection of the Aborigines of Southern Africa, and his repugnance to sanction any enlargement of his dominions, of which their sufferings would be the price. You are aware that in the Session of Parliament (1834) the House of Commons invoked His Majesty's protection for these defenceless people, and received from the King an assurance of His Majesty's determination to act in this respect in accordance with their wishes. In the spirit of that assurance, I am commanded to issue instructions; nor will His Majesty regard his pledges as redeemed until he can present to his people the proofs of the establishment of a system of border policy, advantageous alike for the Caffres and for the Colony."

That declaration on the part of the British Government might well be regarded as the first intimation of a policy which recognised the black man as having any rights which ought to be respected by the conquering whites. It is too often forgotten, again, that Great Britain did not lack allies among the Native Chiefs and peoples, such tribes as Kamas, the Fingos, Tembus, Pondos, etc., having voluntarily surrendered their territories and submitted to her authority. These vassals are now exposed to policies of ostracism and oppression by the thankless. This is not wise. Of course, the Imperial policy of Great Britain has its opponents; it has been degraded by some of its latest representatives into doing the dirty work of jackals rather than that of the noble lion of yore. She has indeed some noble men and women—"the fine flower of a thousand years of civilisation and culture."

#### THE GRANDEUR OF BRITISH CHARACTER.

The grandeur of the character of Britain's greatest men and women will be found in their exertions on behalf of oppressed humanity. These are the men and women who have saved British prestige in South Africa from eclipse. Yet although the evils of her rule have perhaps been greater than her benefits, leading us to believe that no nation can rule another with absolute justice, there is a relative justice which connotes equality before the law between the races, and it is to the credit of the Imperial relation that in spite of the difficulty of achieving this in actual practice owing to the perversity of human nature, which is unjust and oppressive of its own kith and kin, we have this record of British statesmen in the past, that they have inscribed on the portals of the Temple of Liberty so that he who runs may read this indelible inscription: "EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL CIVILISED MEN SOUTH OF THE ZAMBESI." And let the enemies of those rights tremble.

To many, perhaps, it is a meaningless term, but it is the charter of their liberties as well as ours, and a guarantee at once of the sacredness of human rights and the indefeasibility of their claims to freedom. More than that, it proclaims freedom from discriminating laws and a throwing wide the door of opportunity to all subjects and citizens of the Empire for the exercise of their legitimate aspirations to a higher life and a nobler being. That action, among the most momentous in our relation to the British Empire, is enhanced by the circumstances under which Native freedom was granted, for while organised barbarism was still a potential danger, and British arms stood at sentry on the Colonial frontier, the Government of Sir Robert Peel, through Lord Stanley, was already preparing to stand nobly by its sacred obligations and responsibilities, and to force the franchise for the Aborigines against the opposition of interested opponents and the enemies of freedom in the Cape Parliament. They recognised that it was the only adequate measure of protection, relieving Great Britain of her obligations in handing over Native Affairs to the Responsible Government of the whites. This was happily achieved later during the Premiership of the Duke of Newcastle, when Representative Government was first granted to the Cape of Good Hope. And those of the

Natives who understand and appreciate the advantages of this great concession, and it is to be feared they are still comparatively few, welcome and prize it as maintaining the dignity of their status, and the promise of better days to come. It is an acknowledgment in a word of the great principle underlying the American Constitution—the Equality of Man. “There is an unconquerable in Man when he stands on his Rights of Man, and let despots and slaves and all people know this, and only those that stand on the Wrongs of Man tremble to know it.”

It has been well said that the romance of Mammon—“the least erected spirit that fell”—is a dream of unlimited power exploiting the Press and the newspaper as it also exploits popular Government and democratic freedom. It has got a fine field to operate in among the backward peoples of South Africa:

“They know no interest but their own;  
They shake the State, they shake the Throne,  
They shake the World, and God alone  
Is safe in His omnipotence.”

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## CHAPTER V.

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### THE DEFEAT OF BARBARISM AND THE PASSING OF PAGANISM.

There was dignity as well as courtesy in the old time Xosa, which showed a sense of national self-respect, individuality, and independence, that won the admiration even of their enemies. The aristocratic Gaika and lordly Gcaleka had stood bravely for a communal system which had endured for ages, and helped to consolidate and conserve the nation. But the march of time and evolution had sounded the knell of paganism, which had it but possessed a higher spiritualism, might have stood impregnable against the assaults of time. But that is not writ of earthly kingdoms which are fated to “walk darking to their doom.” Yet on every square mile of the soil it might be writ of Afric’s sons: “Heroes have trod this spot—’tis on their dust ye tread.” Paganism could not live before Christianity and barbarism defeated on the historic field of Kentani, was finally dispersed by Lord Chelmsford at Ulundi. ’Tis vain to talk of the “Pax Britannica” to these. ’Tis but to make yourself ridiculous. The old Conservative never believed that his white rulers were honestly interested in giving him something better than he already possessed, or the free life he lived under the ancient Chieftainship.

“Christianity (says Joseph Singapy Moss) found them enjoying all the privileges of an untrammelled manhood. The religion of Jesus Christ could not give them any additional power than that by which nature had endowed them, nor with that self-respect which a man feels who knows no superior. “Has Christianity not consecrated drunkenness, slavery, and war?” was the question of an intelligent Basuto.

It is the intelligent Christian only who having tasted of the “unsearchable riches” can see with greater clearness the “nearer and remoter relations of things, and actions, and influences. He sees a wider horizon for his aspirations have been lifted and his vision clarified. “Christianity (to quote Lord Cromer) has intervened between the two periods, ancient and modern, and has established a moral code almost wholly unknown to the ancient (pagan) world.” He, the old pagan, may indeed sit brooding over the ashes of a dead past, but it is for the enlightened to rouse himself to reconstruct on a new foundation the fallen pillars of the race. Above all, the Bantu are learning respect for a higher citizenship than that of



earthly sovereignties, and in this way, by honouring God, they will learn true self-respect. The awakening of national consciousness, the disappearance of tribal divisions, the readjustment of old conditions, is the trumpet call to the sleeping hosts to arise and march forward. The spirit of the Twentieth Century calls them, and their response must be unhesitating and sure. Africa expects every man to do his duty.

They will have to learn in a hard school the lessons common to all civilised peoples, and the past joining hands with the present, to work to create a new world of order, beauty, and humanity. To leave behind them the "various ape and tiger forms of life, the cunning and the cruelty, the servile cowardice" and the indifference to suffering which has been so marked a characteristic of the relations of the people of South Africa.

### THE CATTLE KILLING.

The homogeneity of the Bantu race had been shaken by the terrible battering of the British military machine at recurring periods. The national system was shaken to its foundations and stood trembling like a stricken antelope. At this time the syren voice of a lying spirit lured the people to a singular act of national madness. The despairing cry of Macomo, the Prince Regent—"When shall I and my people have rest?"—was answered by the frontier war party with "Never! Not until the spirit of a proud people was broken and humbled to the dust, and the remnants blown into thin air.

Ancient superstitions struggling against the dim light of revealed religion, acting on the minds of a distracted people, easily influenced by false teachings of sorcerers, led them to believe in the disordered hallucinations of a wizard. Mhlakaza and his medium, Nongause, a girl, spoke strange things of a rejuvenated world when the ancient dead would arise and all things be made new. This prophecy of a resurrection called for a great act of faith and sacrifice on the part of the people. It entailed the indiscriminate and unconditional slaughter of their cattle and the emptying of their grain pits. The tale of the cattle killing is a historic episode, which shows the power of evil spirits to influence the action of men leading them as of old to inevitable disaster. At the command of Krelli, Supreme Chief of all the Xosas, the order was obeyed, but the vision ended tragically. The results were terrible. Starvation followed close on their mad act, and thousands sat down to die. Others were scattered abroad, seeking service with the settlers or the nearest towns, or succour from other tribes. This was their sacrifice to the Moloch of a deluded superstition. Curiously enough, this act was construed by the whites as a deep laid scheme for the invasion of the Colony by hordes of Kafirs, driven forward by hunger. But there was method in this form of madness. It was conceived in meanness, and afforded a pretext to elbow the sick man out of his possessions. There was no act of supreme faith or sacrifice demanded here, but the gratification of insatiable greed and land hunger. Sir Walter Currie, the Frontier Commandant, was ordered to drive Krelli over the Bashee River, which was easily effected, and that chief was deprived of some of his finest territory—those parts now known as the Transkei proper, including the four districts of Butterworth, Idutywa, Tsomo, and Nqamakwe, which were given to the Fingo allies and other loyals (1857). Thus the Colonists were at last revenged upon Lord Glenelg, who had forced the retrocession of those vast areas between the Kei and Keiskamma, which had been taken from the Natives in 1836. That good man had long been gathered to his fathers, but the spirit of the frontier still remained a living flame.

## THE FRONTIER POLICY.

The Frontier Policy which let the Frankenstein monster of militarism loose among the inhabitants, was responsible for the exposure of the "British Settlers" to the full brunt of contending forces. The dispatches of Sir Harry Smith, Commander-in-Chief, disclosed the lamentable conditions to which the settlers were reduced by the incursions of hordes of desperate Kafirs. These hitherto unsuspecting and unfortunate people, being left without adequate military protection, were rushed and ruined, and the bitterness caused by these repeated incursions changed their better feelings into those of eternal enmity. The whole frontier was a flaming fire, sometimes smouldering, at other times breaking out into internecine war, murder, and pillage. The hostility was mortal, the destruction deadly, and continuous. The feelings generated by these conditions might be better imagined than described. It poisoned the whole attitude of the whites to the blacks, and vice versa. The Galeka's had been early incensed by the treatment meted out to their princes. Although Hintsa, the King, had proclaimed his neutrality in the disturbances of 1835 and was at peace with the Government, his country was suddenly invaded. An arrogant militarism accused him of harbouring "rebel" cattle. Kreli as a lad accompanied his father, the King, when he entered the British camp with his uncles and immediate retainers to expostulate with the military authorities, and negotiate with them. They were retained as hostages in disregard of all precedents, and subjected to threats and terrorism if they failed to fulfil the impossible conditions imposed upon them. They were ordered to pay some fifty thousand head of cattle, which could not be collected in the circumstances, and, meditating escape, they accompanied a mounted escort which was sent with the King to enforce these conditions on the people. The King, who was narrowly watched, seized an occasion to ride away from the party, was chased, and, being a weighty man, was thrown off his horse, and running into a bushy declivity, hid himself, being shot at and presumably wounded. A party of the Cape Corps of Guides discovered the King in a pool of water, and as he pleaded for mercy, awaited the European section, who, coming on the scene, immediately shot the King in cold blood. His pleas for mercy were unheeded. It is difficult to understand the occasion or necessity for such conduct, at any rate it left an indelible impression on the youth who, with his uncle Buru and others, were immediately released and an attempt made to cover up this foul deed. It is alleged that the tragedy was capped by the decapitation of the corpse, as in the case of Luka Janky, in the Galishwa war, and the head taken as a medical trophy to Grahamstown. As for its effect on Kreli, he could never be brought to trust officials again, and was so scared that he could not face the Magistrates, and lived, as he said, a recluse among the baboons on the rocks of the Ncehana.

## THE WAR OF 1877-78.

But peace was not to be his portion, for some twenty years after his expulsion from the Keilands, another war was forced on him in 1877-78. The Fingos, who were placed as a buffer between him and the new boundary—the Butterworth River—were a source of irritation and disturbance. A fracas at a beer drink at Ngcayicibi's Kraal, involving a portion of the tribe of Mapassa, brother of Kreli, led to further reprisals and precipitated hostilities. The Colonists came to the aid of their allies. The Gaika Chief Sandili, living westward of the Kei, loyally supported the cause of his superior Chief, and after several engagements their combined forces were defeated. They had taken the camp at Gwadana and threatened Ibeka, a strong military post, and bravely charged the entrenchments at Kentani, in face of a withering fire from the disciplined ranks of the 24th Regiment of foot, which met a similar fate at Isandlana, being annihilated by the Zulus.



"Preserve the colours, Melville! We stand here;  
And to the end." 'Twas thus that Pulleine spoke,  
On Isandlana's dark and fatal day. . . . .

With broken forces, the Chiefs separated and kept up a desultory resistance until Sandili was killed in the fastnesses of the Amatola Mountains. It was a forlorn hope, for Sandili had predicted he would not die on a mat. In any case, the tribe of this somewhat weak and vascillating chief was being rapidly ruined by a canteen, which was conveniently placed within easy reach of his place. At the close of the war, these Gaikas, with other loyals, were removed from the Colony west of the Kei into the Kentani district, where they were crowded up like sardines. It mattered not whether they were crowded one on the back of another (said a farmer), they had to get out of the Colony. These are now termed with the rest of the country on the coast littoral the Reserves, or Native Territories. The territory on the Cis-Kei was surveyed and parcelled out in large blocks to the farmers, and other Natives, loyal to the Government.

#### THE SONS OF PHALO.

Of the Gcaleka, Professor Andrew Smith (Lovedale) relates thus: "The Gcalekas are a fine manly race, coming up to the charge in the open field of battle in the most courageous manner, even against the guns and cannon of the British; but it was not to be. A hardy and spirited race, these Gaikas and Gcalekas had followed the chase which led them in their hunting expeditions, or "amaphulo," to precede the other tribes in migrating southwards. They were also cattle breeders, grazing countless herds of beautiful cattle, and flocks of goats, which roamed at large over the vast territories inhabited by these tribes, under the charge of herdsmen, who were trained to deeds of prowess in defending their stock from lions, wild dogs, and hyenas that attacked them, as also against roving bands of Bushmen and Hottentots."

Kreli is supposed to have derived his name from a Dutchman, Sarel or Kreil, who visited Hintsa in the early days. Although he evaded capture and died a natural death, the plight of this Chief and his relations has been a bitter one. We purpose asking the Government for some amelioration for his grandson, Gwebinkumbi, the present Chief, and his immediate relatives, being encouraged thereto by the generous precedent of the late General Louis Botha, who, as Prime Minister, very graciously relieved the late Chief Dinizulu from the hardships in which he was involved, to the lasting gratitude of the Zulus. The superior chiefs have a claim to the sympathy and assistance of the Government, especially in relation to the education of their children and the reasonable comfort of their nearest kin. The degradation of these latter is an eyesore and reflection on civilised Government.

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## CHAPTER VI.

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### CHURCH AND STATE IN NATIVE AFFAIRS.

The humane policies of Lord Glenelg, which are erroneously attributed to Governor Durban, found their extension in the methods of those estimable servants of the Crown, Sir Andries Stockenström and more especially Sir George Grey. The old method of setting up a chief to knock him down again was substituted by a policy which recognised some responsibility over their fellow men. The new policy aimed at winning the confidence of chiefs and people, and enlisting their co-operation in the Government and

the peaceful settlement of a country sadly embittered by incessant wars. British agents, and afterwards Magistrates, were placed with some of the more prominent chiefs east and west of the Kei. The superstitions taught by the Native priestcraft with its religious rites, sacrifices, and barbaric cruelties, were suppressed as far as possible, and all cases of a grave penal or political character were brought within the jurisdiction of British Courts. The modifications made in the hereditary authority and independence of the chiefs were met by payments of monthly stipends as a partial return for their loss of power. The fines levied by the chiefs were thus in great part transferred to the Colonial Exchequer. A Kafir code of laws and customs had been drawn up by these agents at the instance of the Lieutenant-Governor of Kaffraria (Colonel Maclean) in 1858, and thus the nucleus of a machinery was provided which has since been more or less successfully extended for the control and Government of the several Native tribes throughout South Africa. This machinery of Government was continued by able officers in the Transkei, among the older Chief Magistrates being Captain Matt. Blyth, Sir Henry George Elliot, Sir Walter Stanford, and other prominent Magistrates of the old school, Charles John Levey, Stanford, Scott, Matthew Ben Shaw, Harris, Cumming, Thompson, Brownlee, and others. Captain Blyth soon knocked some system and order into the Fingos, and Mr. Levey taught the lower Tembus improved farming. But the beneficial results of Magisterial authority were more strikingly apparent in the cessation of tribal disturbances and lawlessness; and in their personal influence over the rude barbarians not infected with education, the officers were "primus inter pares." The personal influence of the Magistrates in the direction of that progress which is indispensable to the material well-being, increase in knowledge, and general advancement of the Bantu, was wanting. Probably in the multitude of their other civil responsibilities the Magistrates were not able to afford the time, or to give effect to these reforms. The country rested. Besides exhaustion in warfare, there is also surfeiting and repletion.

#### THE NATIVE POLICY EVOLVED.

In consolidating the affairs of the Government, industrial, commercial, educative, legislative, economic, and social, no sound or satisfactory system, consistent in practice, and continuous in effort, has yet been evolved even by the old Cape Colony for the uniform progress and improvement of the Native people.

Unity has been taken to mean the co-operation of the whites for the whites. Had they not asserted the authority of the white man? Henceforth the blacks would be hewers of wood and drawers of water to their masters. And so the world wags. Of legislation in the form of penal statutes, their name is legion, and administration by Magistrates, Police, and other Civil Officers is almost exclusively engaged in the detection of crime, the punishment of offenders, and the collection of fines and other revenues. In these departments there is little fault to find, except when we contrast the overzeal in the collection of taxes with the apathy evinced in educating the Natives; the failure of the law of equal justice in cases of trial by jury; and the complete neglect by the administration to encourage productive industries and economies making for the social welfare or uplift of the people. This refers to the Cape Province, where conditions have been gradually improving over the years, chiefly owing to the high quality of the Judiciary, a higher general intelligence on the part of the whites and Natives, and the influence of religion in moulding and elevating the public conscience and character of the people. These reforms again have rested upon the unquestioned foundation of British Supremacy, the secure basis of Self-Government, with equal rights to all, and an "open door" to Parliament without regard to colour, class, creed, or previous condition.



Since the days when Mr. Rhodes was Premier and the older school retired, there has been a gradual retrogression in Native Affairs. Much might be attributed to the baleful influence of the gold interest, which, beginning in the eighties at the Rand, has gradually imposed its policies over the whole country, its hand being felt in education, industries, religion, etc., especially after the Anglo-Boer War. These led to policies of "ca canny and festina lente," now superseded by the latest: "the time is not ripe." Thus does the Old Serpent change his stripes. It is a difficult thing to kraal the devil.

Some authorities consider the right time to remove Native disabilities would be the Day of Judgment. Probably they expect that that day will await their leisure—the pleasure of the dilettante, the fat and privileged. Is this also policy? Or what does it all mean? We have been long convinced that the "policy" does not seek to educate the black man. It wants his labour, that is all, and thus tribal rule is encouraged in a manner disastrous to Native progress.

### NATIVE PROGRESS STOPPED.

How far Native wars had affected the character of the Church is a matter for speculation. But it looks as if economic Imperialism by nigardly doles to religious institutions and missionary schools had kept the clergy from speaking too loud, and the plight of the Coloured and Native children between the selfish party system in Parliament, in the Churches, and administration, is going from bad to worse. Progress is stopped. The better class of Native parents are disgusted. The brighter boys are alienated and education is stagnant right through the Territories, and as for religion, Churches and schools supervised by red heathen headmen stand empty, a silent witness, condemnation, and rebuke, of the reactionary policies in vogue. And the mass of the Natives still on the threshold of mental and spiritual awakening, hardly stirred by the example of tremendous energy and the strenuous life of the Europeans, dream idly the dream of a somnolent death. Others, mistrusting the whites and loth to adopt modern methods, always regarded with suspicion, appear to be drifting aimlessly without any definite hope, purpose, or ambition, wondering in much perplexity at the white world rushing past them in mad career, whitherward they cannot tell and do not care. This refers more particularly to the tribal areas. It is not necessary to go to Uganda to see Darkest Africa. Here it is at our doors, doomed to be perpetuated by the "benign and sympathetic policies" of a monstrous materialistic civilisation. The Government can devise no methods apparently whereby existing schools can be guaranteed an attendance sufficient to prevent their being closed. And closed they are, and the teachers left at their wit's end what to do or where to turn for help. The Magistrate, while he sees that there shall be no refusal or neglect to pay taxes, says "non possumus." The Missionary says "non possumus," and the Headmen alike. What does it all mean? Ask the Government! That is exactly what we intend to do, for such a situation is not only anomalous, but ominous.

The Christian Churches were indeed the salt of the earth in those earlier days, but it has lost much of its savour since then. Too often its adherents have hunted with the Imperial hounds, or run with the Imperial hares. Nevertheless, out of the blood spilled and treasure spent, the Europeans can be credited with introducing a superior knowledge, civilisation (with reservations), and Christianity (imperfect in its features), and with many ugly scars on its face. A militant Christianity hanging on to the tails of economic Imperialism is judged by its fruits. Nevertheless, their's is the privilege of linking the once dark continent to the rest of the awakened world. We preferred to believe, at any rate during the long period of the Victorian era, that England scored in the force and character of her Sovereign, and those superior moral and spiritual virtues which influenced her statesmen for good, and were a standing rebuke to tyrannous Governments and inhuman Governors.

## MISSIONARIES OF THE VICTORIAN ERA.

It was in the Victorian era that those great emancipators, philanthropists, and missionaries stood up to vindicate the rights of the weaker and more backward races, and whose noble, unselfish, and heroic efforts in face of a slave-holding caste at the Cape, gave England her great reputation, and won for her the lasting gratitude of the Coloured races. Not so much perhaps to the work of individual statesmen, or Governors, but to the work of the pioneer missionaries, who laid the foundation of those civil attributes which are the gift of Christianity, and who saved a country so far removed from the restraints of the higher civilisation of Holland and Great Britain, from the evils of unmitigated slavery. All praise to these men, those disinterested labourers in many fields, of many climes, of many creeds, and many countries. Men and women who, in more cases than we know, have sacrificed personal comfort, and superior station, in perils oft, to consecrate their lives to uplift the souls of men, to bring liberty to the oppressed, and to elevate degraded types by the light of the Cross, and make new destinies for men. Their conduct forms at once the "most pathetic, and yet the sublimest picture" in a sin cursed World. Thus England is not indebted to any superiority of character as a race, as to a conjunction of fortuitous circumstances which has given her the lead by the instrumentality of such individual noble men and gentle women just described. They saved South Africa from a "covenant with death," and "clothed morality with the sanction of a Divine law." They left to us a legacy by which alone true nobility of character and culture can be acquired—self-sacrifice and humanity. Governments are wont to claim those titles that are not theirs. The efforts of individual clergymen to do their duty to the coloured community has met with obstruction, and in some cases persecution, and on the part of some of the Natives themselves with base ingratitude.

## THE MODERN CHURCH AND ETHIOPIANISM.

But, speaking broadly, the Church has in these latter days been somewhat of a broken reed to lean upon. From the after-effects of these incessant wars, there could be remarked a gradual change in the disposition of the white clergy. The aggressive Evangelical spirit which took the old missionaries out and about among the people has waned. Discords, unsettlement, and schism were the order, producing frequent and ill-judged secessions on the part of some Natives, who were fired by race feeling, and others perhaps by a legitimate desire for more freedom and independence, and others again by vulgar and unworthy motives of greed, gain, and ambition. Undoubtedly some of the Native clergy (so-called) have no particular gifts, calling, or character, for the sacred offices, undisciplined, headstrong, leading astray many ignorant and foolish people, they would be better employed in sawing wood or picking oakum. And the irreverent heathen among the whites coming along smear them all alike with the same tar brush—"Ethiopianism." With the average whites, that settles the question. But as they have a reversary interest in Carlyle's dictum about the population of London, nobody now takes them seriously. But when whispered, or sometimes proclaimed, by missionaries, "Ethiopianism" meant "sedition." It was right here that we parted company with a Church which could reveal itself in unaccustomed features. Had it become a part and parcel of the political machinery of economic materialism? We feared it had, and from that time it has helped to shape our course and influence our movements in the direction of self-standing. The growth may be slow, corresponding to the growth of national consciousness, but it is inevitable, and, moreover, without malice or unfriendliness toward the white Church. It corresponds to the spirit of the times, which is for Union. At any rate, the country will not be content with a clergy, white or black, that cannot give a clear lead and ring true on the essentials of



faith, conduct, and Christian brotherhood. It will demand a high standard of character, the very highest, especially in the Native clergy, and a real spiritual standpoint and perspective if it would lead honest men. Can the Native clergy measure up to these highest standards in Holiness, Temperance, and Chastity? We cannot dictate to the Church fellowship, it should and it must claim our highest respect and profoundest reverence by the nature of things, and also our support against its enemies, "the powers and principalities of evil," for, after all, the Church fellowship is "Us" and "We."

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## CHAPTER VII.

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### THE NATIVE TERRITORIES AND THE GENERAL COUNCILS.

The Native Territories, a term that does not convey any real meaning, are roughly classified as those territories lying north-east of the Great Kei River on the coast littoral, bounded by Natal and the Umzimkulu River, and including Griqualand East, Herschel, and Glen Grey. Statistics are untrustworthy, as there is no Bureau of Information, but probably it has a population of a million and a half of persons, with a density in some parts computed at ninety or a hundred to the square mile. Thus we have some idea of the results of depopulating the land of its indigenous inhabitants, for the bulk of the Cape Colony is computed to carry only one or two, and in some cases less than one soul, to the square mile. Most of the Natives are living under tribal or communal tenure, but some parts, notably the Transkei proper, principally occupied by Fingos, are undergoing a change to individual tenure under an extension of the Glen Grey Act (Proc. No. 352 of 1894).

Over this area are dotted European townships connected by railway, linking up the Colony proper with the capital, Umtata, which at present is the terminal town, and tapping the Territories of its resources in labour and raw produce, giving them back in exchange goods and material of cheap European manufacture, principally for the Native trade (Kafir truck), thus killing local industries, which are practically non-existent. Probably half of the able-bodied males are employed in some form of labour on public works in the Cape, on the Mines in the Rand, and elsewhere, on farms, in towns, and domestic and general service, forming the chief support of the Territories, much to the detriment of their own education and social development, which are neglected at home. The enormous constructive work of developing South Africa has been accomplished by the aid of raw and unskilled Kafir labour. This is too often overlooked by those who speak about teaching them the dignity of labour. There is no particular dignity about labour as we see it among the miners and factory hands, coal heavers, mill workers, and other sweated occupations, which grind the lives out of the average British and foreign slaves. In truth, the advocates of the "dignity of labour" prefer the work of ex-slave drivers as being more congenial to the hard draught assigned to the Aborigine. Jack Kafir has come to know it, too, and the play of intellect and resource displayed by both sides in the effort to adjust the balances between capital and labour, and the burdens of Empire, is not conducive to the most amicable relations between master and servant. That the Aborigine does not take kindly to European occupations, and is often indiligent and aggravating, is common cause, but it is not singular where tribal life had few incentives to hard manual labour. Africa will teach the man in ungodly haste to get rich quick, patience, or send him to a lunatic asylum. If one were to follow up the shocking, brutal, callous treatment which Jack Kafir takes with a smile, and oftener at a mere pittance, one marvels

at the patience of the ignorant. "After all, the white civilisation is not much to be proud of," says a keen European observer. "As we look at the whole world to-day it looks as if all civilisation and humanity and Christianity had failed most signally. In this country (South Africa) we have tried it in two different ways—first the slave owner, and secondly the missionary—and neither way has been very successful. Such civilisation as comes by way of Johannesburg and Kimberley will not improve the Native races. Yet it is the spirit of those places that is leavening the whole country, until we are becoming an obscene Empire of Mammon or Belial."

Bravo! But we might take heart of grace and say with the poet:—

"Upside down the world has lain  
Many a year;  
We to turn it back again  
Now appear.  
Will ye, nil ye, we will do  
What at last no man shall rue,  
Have no fear."

### COMMUNAL TENURE.

There are those who believe that communal tenure is better adapted to mankind, at any rate the tribal Natives have hung on to it as long as they possibly could, but under the feudal systems of European land tenure it is rendered impossible. Doubtless Cecil John Rhodes, in introducing his famous Glen Grey Act (25 of 1894), intended to make the best of the new conditions imposed upon the Natives. It was intended to secure the division of Native reserves into individual holdings with fixed rents. It was named after the district of Glen Grey, where the experiment was first introduced. English land systems are described as the "most exclusive and antiquated in Europe." By them the labouring man and peasant are effectually expelled from their own country and the land shackled with wire fences and notice boards warning dogs and humans off the grass. Not long ago about five million souls in England and Wales were in receipt of charitable relief; over ten millions within the starvation mark. Eight thousand landlords received in rents thirty-five million pounds sterling; the rentals of five hundred and eighty peers amounted to fourteen million pounds; and thirty-five thousand men hold all the land, against forty million people. And the average Englishman is callous to all that. Thus these poor emigrants and homeless wanderers, driven from their own hearthstones by this wretched system, come into collision with indigenous Native races, who are forced by every pretext, and at length at the point of the bayonet, off their ancestral soil, and, as in the case of the Bantu, packed into reserves. These, filling up rapidly, in turn create like conditions, driving the Natives into location life. Probably three-fourths of the land of the Cape Colony has thus been treated. Thousands of square miles are forbidden ground, the habitat of leopards, jackals, and baboons, which prey upon the stock. For many years Parliament expended thousands of pounds in annual subsidies for their extermination, and jackal wire fences were put up by the richer farmers. For each jackal's tail 7/6 in cash was paid, until it became profitable to breed them, and Magistrates complained that tails could be skilfully manufactured by Native servants in the Karoo, presumably "fo' de bass." Debates on jackal extermination were a standing joke in the House, affording no end of amusement to the Hon. J. X. Merriman. Some farmers were accused of being mean enough to cut off the tails. They could breed without tails, they said. So the order went out that heads must accompany tails before the Magistrates would fork out the "needful." To-day, under the new Ordinance, farmers will be compelled to hunt at stated intervals, under a severe penalty in case of neglect.



The Glen Grey Bill was, as is usual with Native measures, received with universal adulation. Everything is lovely with the governing; what do the governed say? Their approbation is usually the measure of the black man's suspicion, because as a rule laws are made and passed over their heads without consulting them. And the reasons usually advanced by the whites are very frequently those that harden the opposition of the blacks. For example, the Missionary Philosopher of Blythswood hailed the Bill, as it would destroy the chieftainship, the bulwark of heathenism (Blythswood Review). He evidently mistrusted the power of his own weapon, and was glad to receive reinforcements from Mammon. He defended the economic theory of the Bill, and rejoiced at the provision dispersing the surplus population as "they cannot all remain in the land and live well."

#### CHRISTIAN ETHICS OF GOVERNMENT.

This opens up the question whether "Christian" countries have really grasped the moral ethics of Government. The Kafirs managed things better. What do they mean by "surplus population," and why should it be removed, and whither? But perhaps the earth belongs to the landlords and landlords. In our innocent youth we were told that "the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof." Poets still say that "the planet belongs to its living men." And single-taxers advocate the taxation of unimproved site values. Perhaps they are all wrong too. Anyhow, had the Kafir not been handy with the assegai, those ancient systems which conserved their purposes with remarkable success would have been quickly overthrown, and the appalling evils of European slum life would have destroyed them, or driven them into an abject slavery. Here is a report of a visit paid by the City Fathers of Queenstown to the Location (1902), from the local organ of those days:—

"A large number of huts, hovels, and shanties were visited, and in each one the same horrible picture was presented. Kafir beer everywhere, in cups, in tins, in buckets, and barrels. Men and women, scores of them, huddled together in all stages of drunkenness, in most evil smelling little hovels imaginable; some of these people in a state of jubilant intoxication, others quarrelsome, most of them motionless. No one who has not seen one of these Bacchinalian orgies can form any conception of the horror and awfulness of it. That a prompt remedy for this state of things must be found goes without saying. . . . The Town Council is drawing a revenue of something like £1,400 per annum from the Location, but spends nothing like that amount in keeping the place in proper and decent order. The whole of the Location revenue, and more, if necessary, should be spent in keeping the people living there in proper control."

The assegai was time gained and a breathing space to allow the Bantu to adjust their perspective to the new order and to hear what Tolstoy and Henry George have got to say about it all. Their discoveries are not reassuring. Hear what the poet says:—

"Nature is higher than progress or knowledge,  
Whose need is ninety enslaved for ten;  
My word shall stand against mart and college,  
The planet belongs to its living men."

#### MR. RHODES AND NATIVE INDUSTRIES.

When Cecil Rhodes brought in his Bill, he said in the House: "I propose to devote the money to industrial schools, and to giving instruction in useful trades. To put it in other words, I might say that it is intended that the neglect of labour should provide the funds for instruction in labour." There was a soupçon of suspicion about the Bill which contained a labour clause to force labourers out. Mr. Rhodes admitted that he

intended it to do so, as he was convinced that the young barbarians would give trouble if their time was not better employed than in attending beer drinks and dances. The 10/- rate imposed as a "gentle stimulus" for that purpose would be placed to Native revenue and expended in developing the country and improving the lot of the people. The Attorney-General (Sampson), supporting, dwelt upon the dangers of overpopulation, which threatened the Territories and Basutoland, with the result of possible famine and the sapping of the physical strength of the race. Altogether the Natives had Mr. Rhodes to thank that they were not dispossessed of their lands altogether, for the farmers who opposed the Bill were clamorous for the survey and distribution of the Territories, and were only appeased by this labour clause. Indeed, the conception was admirable. It provided for a rate for revenue for general purposes of 10/- per adult male, which has latterly produced anywhere from fifty to a hundred thousand pounds per annum. The Constitution provided at first for representation by headmen only, who elected four members from among themselves in each district, and two others being nominated by the Resident Magistrate, as Chairman of the District Council. A quota of these drawn from the districts form the General Council sitting in session at Umtata annually, with the Chief Magistrate presiding.

### THE "BUNGA," OR GENERAL COUNCIL.

This General Council, which is called the "Bunga," or Parliament, discusses business related to the districts, controls finance, and passes resolutions, which are subject to revision by a caucus of Magistrates, who again advise the Government as they see fit. The Magistrates also sit and speak in the General Council, which deals with roads, bridges, irrigation, agriculture, plantations, finance, etc., etc. Such a scheme, therefore, presented many opportunities for local advantage, by devising and developing progressive measures and internal resources in the districts, encouraging local industries, handicrafts, intensive farming, and wealth production, to meet the immediate needs of the people who prefer a "full dinner pail" first, whatever else the scheme might produce. But the scheme has failed absolutely in this direction, and the people have only been able to escape famine in its worst features in the past, and as they are living on the brink of it from year to year, serious observers must regard the situation with the gravest misgivings. After all the shouting, "Failure" must be writ large anent the operation of the scheme. The reasons for this would be better elucidated by a Commission of Enquiry and would fill volumes. They are inherent in the "policy" of the Government and its agents who have operated the Act, and in the "Constitution" of the Council itself. Politically, the Territories have been regarded as a huge reservoir for black labour, and the policy of this country, which is mainly directed by Parliamentary caucuses and political wire-pullers, determined that the resources of the Natives and practically their whole physical manhood were to be mobilised for the Gold Mines. These were now going strong, scouring the country for labour, and everybody lent a hand in procuring the "boys." The man who did not do so lived in Queer Street. The competition set up was thorough and uncompromising, competing agencies being backed by rival mines and corporations, which spent large sums for the purpose. Finally, it narrowed itself down to the few. The man without funds was pushed to the wall and could ruminate at the nearest "pub" and get passively drugged or doped. The traders with negotiable produce brought the "funi-join" down to a fine art—so many bags of mealies, so many "join boys"—until now even the girls are held in "pawn" for their dowries. The credit system has brought the Natives to the verge of ruin. That is the industrial aspect.



## CHAPTER VIII.

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### NATIVE DISTRICT AND GENERAL COUNCIL SYSTEM IN OPERATION.

In its administrative aspects, the Council system has been held up by an ignorant clientele of dependents and reactionaries who are naturally opposed to change, and whose manners and methods contribute to defeat its usefulness, and to deprive the people of the fruits of local government which would enhance their comfort and happiness. A conflict is thus raised between the educated, progressive elements, and the patrons of barbarism, which in one district (Kentani) has agitated and unsettled the people during the whole course of the war. Barbarism is used as a foil to defeat legitimate efforts towards reform, or, on the other hand, as a screen, and this will continue until the people realise the difference between official opinion, delivered through the District Councils (as the creatures of officialdom), and popular opinion as expressing the genuine needs and wants of the people. The evil conditions created by these methods lie at the root of local self-government, and have occasioned a deadlock. The Government has been satisfied to draw its information solely through Magistrates and headmen, some of the former being reactionary, opposed to changes which would interfere with the settled order of things, and inclined to be obstacles in the path of reform. The result is that the Council system has broadly been more useful to the whites than the blacks.

In seeking for a reason, one stumbles across an unwritten law, which is thus interpreted: "In view of the existence of a vastly preponderating Native population in South Africa, it is necessary that every field of activity that offers a livelihood to Europeans should be rigorously preserved for them and them only." This may explain the anomalies of local government under District Councils.

### THE REIGN OF POLICEMEN.

Be that as it may, the people are now fretting against the reign of policemen and spies, and demand a clean service which will honour intelligence, fitness, and capacity, and which will not degrade education by handing it over to barbarism, and the patrons of barbarism. The people are moving forward, yet the Government, or its agents, persist in remaining behind. The Magistrate under the Constitution, formed on the most conservative lines, has wielded extraordinary powers. Like Scipio, he is the soul of the Council, all others are but vain shadow. The principle that headmen only should be eligible for election might have been, and was, excusable, in the early experimental stages of its introduction. But for twenty-five years or more Councillors have been drawn from the most illiterate heathen class. And now in one district (Kentani) we have on the Board two witch doctors and a quack, the latter being the nominees of the Magistrate. Some of these have been known to practice their incantations or dances after leaving the "House," or Parliament, so called, at the Location at Umtata. These "honourable" members, who do not know when an agenda paper is wrong side up or upside down, snooze and sleep during the proceedings of this jabbering shop, and are awakened by a nudge in the ribs and told to hold up their hand during the voting. One does not like to look the thing square in the face. It makes one ashamed to see how this child of Rhodes has metamorphosed into a parody on Government, while the highest interests of the people are thus placed in jeopardy and made a laughing stock or a sneer. If reforms could be effected with the help of the General Council, progress would have long since determined itself, but there is no guarantee that a conclave of officials, who usurp the right to review the resolutions of the "House," would permit the best of these to go through. As a matter of fact, some of the best resolutions have

been thrown out by the Government, especially on education, for years. Nor has there been in the past a body of intelligent independent Councillors capable of achieving these desirable alterations and reforms. The position, therefore, is that strong walls having been built round the system the administration marches to a funeral note—the man in the hearse, of course, being the Negro, who is buried with his interests, perquisites, and possessions, and there is none to do him reverence. The headmen are hypnotised by this wretched system, carrying and fetching like a company of trained circus baboons, Magistrates and headmen in this co-operative business watching each other attentively for mutual aid in carrying out the onerous duties of their respective offices. The whole system wants cleaning up quickly and radically, and adequate reforms can be easily effected if the system of election is thrown open as widely as possible in the districts, and no public servants drawing public monies to be eligible for election. The Hofmeyr Act might fix the basis of literacy (Act 14 of 1897). That policy might probably not suit officialdom, but that is not the question. A Government of policemen must give way to more liberal methods if trouble is to be avoided. As things are, they are a disgrace to everybody: our Churches, educational institutions, and the Natives themselves. If space permitted we could easily condemn the system out of the mouths of its own agents (Blue Book Reports), but enough has been said to avoid similar mistakes in future.

#### EUROPEANS IN THE BUNGA.

The idea of keeping Europeans out of the Bunga is in line with these mistaken policies. Experience shows that private influences are more harmful when exercised outside than inside the Councils. The interests of the whites are related in many ways, and as knowledge and experience increases among the Bantu, the interests of the whites will demand protection, or it will endanger not only the working of the system, but the peace and harmony of the country. The Europeans should be eligible in their corporate capacities, trades, religion, commerce, science, education, etc., to a quota of seats in the General and District Councils. The Magistrates, by sitting and voting, themselves would protect the official interests, which should not preponderate over the public interest, and this would end the nomination of Natives, who tend only to become the creatures of a class. The difficulty has been for the Government to recognise that educated Natives are the leaders of the future, that the days of the heathen are ended, and that it is an obligation on the part of the authorities not to stand in the way of legitimate progress, but to encourage it in every way they can, and to adopt the younger educated youth as the proteges and prototypes of a model system of administration and Government, and to train them sympathetically to understand its workings.

There is an immense amount of internal development work to be done which cannot be undertaken, through ignorance in the Council, and want of proper instruction and encouragement among the people. We are astonished when we see what is done for European farmers that is not done for the Natives. The superior chief's sons and daughters might be educated and prepared to assume those relations to their people which their birth and station entitles them to in all civilised countries. As the sires of the people, they should be treated with the utmost consideration in order that they might comport themselves with a dignity proper to their office.

#### AN IMPROVED CIVIL SERVICE.

The question of an improved Civil Service, in which the Natives shall be eligible for the higher subordinate posts, and specially trained to fill them, should be introduced. The Native Affairs Department requires reconstruction, and the position of the Native service levelled up, as is done in India or the West Indies. Great administrators, among them Sir Harry



Johnston and Sir Bartle Frere, advocated this many years ago, but British Imperialism has been faced by the problem of adapting her administrative systems in such a way as to keep the whites permanently at the top. But such a policy lacks courage and usually proceeds to extremes. Instead of facing the situation squarely and opening opportunities for legitimate progress on the part of the coloured youth, they prefer to grab all and leave nothing for the other fellow. This is not wise. Also with regard to productive work. There is a vast deal to be said and done with regard to productive industries, the conservation of water, intensive farming, modern methods of cultivation, industrial schools and instruction in useful trades, and larger scope should be afforded for the education of Native females in weaving, spinning, pleating, and other textile industries, in which the assistance of the whites is absolutely necessary. Witness the articles that have been written time and again by the Christian Express (Lovedale) and other writers, urging the industrial side, and the erection of suitable industries to feed the people. The officers of the Education Department have made a start in this direction by making education more practical, and the Agricultural Department is setting up Farmers' Associations, which, it is to be hoped, will not develop into political caucuses to set Native against Native.

#### THE COUNCIL SYSTEM SUSPECT.

It may be conjectured from these remarks that the whole Council system is under suspicion as merely a political machine, and not worked to the real interests of the Natives. Such suspicions can only be removed, we are convinced, by bringing the Europeans into the Council system. When that is done, and we have solved the problems of proportional representation and mutual harmonious co-operation between white and black for the good of all parties in the commonwealth, the Territories might then be prepared to discuss the question of entering a United States of South Africa as a self-contained, self-dependent, autonomous entity, realising the increased power and position of statehood. Meantime, under present conditions, such ideas are in the clouds. But progress is not going to wait on ignorance, inefficiency, race antipathies, suspicion, and prejudice, whose end is civil and material bankruptcy and dissolution. The advocates of segregation are defeated on their own ground, for here in a territory peculiarly black they can only give the black man sham equality and the shadow of self-government.

#### FINANCIAL METHODS.

In finance again the backward districts are robbed of their share in the distribution. All the contributions from the several districts are centralised somewhere, and the Natives never see a penny of their own money to practice with. It is useless to go to the Magistrate for small loans for fencing or any other useful purpose, and the General Council is too ignorant to effect the fair and proper division of the money. Instead of framing its own estimates, to be met pro rata by a contribution from each district, it collars the lot, and that is the end of it. Over a million pounds sterling have in this way been spent or squandered since the inception of the Council system, and there is very little internal development work to show for it. Estimates framed for the needs and purposes of the General Council in its public schemes should not deplete the districts of all their revenues, but should be drawn pro rata, leaving local bodies some money to experiment with in regard to actual local needs, without going cap in hand to the General Council for everything. There must be some confidence, surely, in the good sense, reasonableness, and capacity of the people to spend their own money under wise supervision, and not always have it spent for them by men at a distance. Hopes that were raised that reforms would be introduced by J. B. Moffat, Esq., as Chief Magistrate, were extinguished by his unfortunate and unexpected demise. Under the new Chief appointed by the regime of General Smuts at Umtata, high hopes are entertained.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE DEGRADATION OF THE NATIVE RACES.

"Shall we, whose souls are lighted  
With wisdom from on high,  
Shall we to men benighted  
A taste of Hell deny?

Oppression foul—starvation—  
We'll do our best to spread,  
Till each remotest nation  
Messiah's name shall dread.

British authority having at length been finally established, and the Kafirs hurled out of the Colony and crushed into Reserves, the bugles sang truce, and the Churches Te Deums. But militarism, if brutal in the field, left worse evils in its tracks: the jackals and carrion fowls of commerce and competitive industrialism. The commercial era with all its hateful forms of economic oppression, was bearing down upon the country. It was to sink humanity below the levels and submerge them in an underworld of misery and discontent, where Money was King, and insatiable greed, envy, malice, hatred, lust, violence, corruption, uncleanness, drunkenness, overcrowding, destitution, and every horror leading to national death were the order. "Mammon cries the generous heart out of all ages and countries is the basest of known gods, even of known devils. In him what glory is there that ye should worship him? No glory discernible; at best detestability, ill-matched with despicability." These words of Carlyle were soon to be realised in South Africa, in the degradation of the Native races. The worst features of economic Imperialism were still to develop themselves in the North, at the Rand, towards which the balance of power was shifting owing to the gold mines, and which was to become, as it is now, the storm centre of South Africa. Conditions of slum life were already permanent. Hear the cry of the wretched child and the starving mother distracted by the cares of a household of tatterdemalions, and a drunken father.

### NATIVE LOCATION LIFE.

An official report (W. C. Scully) said: "The more the Natives are forced from the land, the more they will congregate in the town locations. It is thus that a criminal class will inevitably be evolved unless some unthinkable improvement in the town locations be brought about." Convictions for overcrowding, which is now the normal state of these locations, only help to increase the evil by filling the gaols. The Bishop of St. John's has characterised them as leading to moral disaster. He declared that the conditions in which some people (whites and coloured) were living in Capetown were a disgrace to civilisation, and cited cases from other towns in South Africa which were nearly as bad. He urged that Parliament should introduce a Bill that would enable local authorities to deal with slums. It will be remembered that Dr. F. B. Meyer, the great Non-Conformist preacher, who visited South Africa some years ago, had some caustic references in his book about the distressful conditions of Native location life in East London. The Evangelical Church Council there sent a deputation of its members (1915) to remonstrate with the Town Council on the very unsatisfactory state of the location. The revenue for that year drawn from the location amounted to upwards of £5,000, and the Town Council proposed to spend the money in making a new road which was of no particular use to anybody. The locations in Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown are overcrowded, and in Pretoria the Native Welfare Associa-

tion of Europeans, giving evidence before the Local Government Commission (1920), submitted that the Pretoria location was a standing disgrace to any civilised community. Their views are worthy of attention. As reported by Reuter, they are thus set forth:—

“ . . . . The witnesses held that the location should have the same Municipal services as white areas and Natives should pay the same, which would connote the necessity of bigger wages to them. It was stated that over 200 Native families lived in the Indian location because their own was not big enough. The delegation submitted that if white people wanted the convenience of Native labour close at hand they should pay for it, and agreed that it was possible to compel employers of Native labour to provide at the location suitable accommodation for their workers.”

The avenues for social betterment are closed to the Natives, who are heavily taxed and hedged round by vexatious regulations. Under these circumstances progress is impossible. “It is a marvel (says Mr. Scully) how the Natives are able to retain a shred of decency and self-respect. It is very pathetic to see the result of the efforts made by many to retain the elements of order and decency in their homes.” An attempt was made by some of the more intelligent Natives to erect a superior Native township just outside the Municipality of East London. They negotiated with a European farmer and secured the survey of several residential plots with garden attached. It was to be controlled by a Board of Management on which Europeans were represented, but this laudable object was contested by the Provincial authorities and defeated before the Superior Courts. Many purchasers lost their money, a few only retaining their sites, owing to the fact that titles had already been issued before judgment. Under such circumstances the charge is true that efforts to better their position are jealously watched and discouraged. The whole system is only a form of legalised robbery, and the Hon. J. X. Merriman was perfectly right in saying in Parliament that the whites were making an asset of the black folk, and this applies most particularly to Municipalities. One of the most flagrant cases in this connection is reported of the Fort Beaufort Municipality (see Local Natives Land Committee Report, Cape Province, 1918).

#### PANDEMONIUM AND OVERCROWDING.

In these locations there is always friction between the Native inhabitants and the police, and there is constant fighting among men and women, with shoutings and screamings and the strife of tongues night and day. A state of pandemonium exists most frequently on Saturdays and Sundays, the consequence of the liquor fiend, and the locations are generally overcrowded and filthy with unbearable smells, uncleansed streets, and horrible sanitary arrangements; no lights or street lamps, and passages washed out by torrential rains become traps for unwary pedestrians. Undoubtedly the conditions under which these poor people live in these locations is most pitiful. The inhabitants are heavily taxed, but the taxes are not spent for their benefit. Utter squalor and discomfort usually reign and these conditions are general throughout South Africa. Thus a once physically perfect race, with whom in their tribal state it was an accident for men to die young, are being degraded rapidly.

#### WHERE AFRIC'S SUNNY FOUNTAINS.

The Moffat Commission, reporting on the causes of strikes and unsettlement at Johannesburg (1918), describes the Municipal Location at Nancefield in these terms:—

“The farm is used as a sewage depositing site, and there is another location in an old Mine Compound in the town acquired by the Council when the mine was closed. The conditions under which the people live in ‘other places’ which the Council allows to be used for accommodation of



Natives was described as appalling. The rent of a room varied from £1 to £2 a month, and most of the rooms occupied appeared to be unfit for human habitation. The yards were littered with all sorts of refuse and rubbish; a number of the men in the yards were under the influence of liquor, for the illicit disposal of which the yards provide every facility. The rooms in the Municipal Compound looked as if they had not been cleaned out for a considerable time, and generally the Compound was in a filthy state."

Who could imagine that a city sewage site could be devoted to the accommodation of human beings, and yet these people are constantly breathing foul air, and with what effect on child life? Glance at the statistics of infant mortality and one is appalled. Worse still is the moral wreckage thrown up by the foetid festering atmosphere of location life, which stinks in the nostrils of healthy manhood and womanhood. What chance have tender children to develop sound bodies and sane minds in these unhealthy surroundings, where tuberculosis is now claiming its thousands, and other contagious fevers which sweep the country at recurrent periods with deadly effect consigning thousands to untimely graves. Oh! the terrible devastation, the rapid spread of disease, the drink, the squalor, the awful crime of reducing man made in the image of God to a picture of the denizens of the infernal regions. The atmosphere of the country has been poisoned imperceptibly by a malignant vapour which has stupefied Church and people until public feeling is comatose or dead, the one relieving feature being those Sisters of Mercy who flit here and there as ministering angels—God bless them.

The Native Affairs Department published a report covering the five years from 1913-18 on all branches of its work. One of the most important sections of the report dealt with Natives in Urban areas. "No duty is cast by law on local bodies to make proper provision for their administration, and in too frequent cases they are exploited for the benefit of the Municipal revenues. The local authority has lost sight of the fact that the location is the labour reservoir of the town, and that the European population reap considerable benefits from this source of cheap labour." Some share of the expenses, said the Report, should be borne by the General Municipal Revenue, in view of the advantages derived. The Natives are themselves responsible to some extent by apathy, and indifference, if not hostility, to benevolent administration. Poverty and ignorance are the chief obstacles to improvement, and the low standard of comfort, which is the basic aspect of the Native Question, is here again mainly responsible. So long as they are content to live in squalor, so long will they be an offence and menace to the European section. "Unfortunately," observes the Acting Secretary for Native Affairs, "the country is not yet awakened to the necessity of adequate educational facilities for Native children." The irony of all this is that the Department which is responsible for the protection of Native Affairs has shuffled off those obligations on to Town Councils and Municipalities without taking sufficient pains to make provision for their proper control. It now stands as critic instead of trustee. Thus Native Affairs are nobody's business in South Africa.

#### THE MAYORAL CONGRESS AND LOCATIONS.

Thanks to the Mayoral Congress which sat at Grahamstown recently (1920), it was suggested that the Government be urged to introduce legislation in regard to the improvement of housing conditions; better tenure of ground in such locations by the inhabitants; the amelioration of the conditions under which the inhabitants live; to deal with the high death rate among infants and adults; to determine a better financial relationship between Municipalities and locations; the better government of locations, and generally to deal with all questions affecting the health, education, and social conditions. The Government has also expressed its willingness to

bring up a Bill on these matters; and has issued a Draft Act to provide for the better administration of Native Affairs in urban areas. This is known as the Urban Areas Bill, brought in by the Minister of Native Affairs, which provides that any Local Authority may set apart and define any areas within such limits as are occupied by Natives for this purpose, and the Governor-General may, after consultation with the Administrator, proclaim areas to be reserved for the use of Native locations subject to the provisions of the Act. It is to be hoped that the Government will assume effective control of the whole situation with the help of the most intelligent Natives.

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## CHAPTER X.

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### NATIVE EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

As the result of the labours of the pioneer missionaries, their assistants and successors, thousands of Natives are members of Christian Churches, and are able to read and write. Considering that the Europeans have been educating for upwards of a century, the quality of the education is of a very rudimentary kind. Somehow they have been unable to inculcate a real taste for reading, literature, or work, and the Native Press languishes. What their education does for them one cannot tell. There seems to be no zest for literature, literary clubs, lectures, or literary zeal. It seems as if the education imposed on them from above has the effect of keeping them going round and round in an interminable circle in the Happy Valley of Ignorance, or ending in a cul de sac. Stopford Brooke pointed out that Rome, in like manner, imposed her education on the inhabitants of the British Isles. Education subsidised and controlled by the State and side-tracked on to the mission bodies leads them up to a stone wall and leaves them there. There is a lack of thoroughness and dispatch about our educated Native youth, of method and management, of initiative and force, of clear-cut business and literary style, of elegance and diction, and of efficiency and finish, which is deplorable and often aggravating. Probably these defects will only be rectified by sending batches of those who have passed certain standards overseas. The black man of the future will be a linguist, adding to the home languages French, German, Russian, and Asiatic. The broadening of the mind by travel should also tend to polish and culture those whose ancestors were Nature's gentlemen. A renaissance is indeed urgent in all departments of Native education and the crafts. The old order changeth. There was a time, not yet passed away, when a late Superintendent-General of Education at the Cape (Langham Dale) asked: "What could I do with fifty thousand educated Tembus?" That this question still disturbs the country goes without saying, and it brings up the thought: "Can the white man educate the black?"

### CAN THE WHITES EDUCATE THE BLACKS?

We know that there are the few who are gifted with high ideals, because they are the servants of all mankind, without regard to colour and creed, and because they are the servants of God and the larger Empire of Christ. These are not afraid of putting their souls into the work, and bringing the black man to the highest level that he is capable of. We have no right to dogmatise on a question upon which we do not claim to be expert. It is impossible, however, to close our eyes to the fact that the educated youth of the present day do not level up to the expectations of those who would see a virile type of man. The loss of authority in the

chiefs has been followed by disintegration in Native society, which is showing the most alarming effects on the moral of the people, and the loosening of parental authority has followed with disastrous results. The black man, ignorant and obedient, has been taught to look to the missionary and the magistrate while Imperialism has been engaged in destroying the foundations of self-respect by neglecting to impress the more important command—honour thy father and thy mother. The lack of co-operation between the various Churches, the absence of a definite and comprehensive educational policy on the part of the State, have been mainly responsible for this terrible state of affairs. Many of the youth are absorbed by the Church without regard to their natural bent or fitness. The Native clergy are thus part of the Church system. Too many of them are unfit for positions of responsibility. Curious that the proselytes of the Church should be so enfeebled. They are accused of lacking in too many cases the essentials, of true manliness, and in others those features of character, courage, and self-reliance which distinguish men of capacity and initiative. While there are many bright examples among the Native clergy, and some outstanding names, the majority are ignorant, and are content with parochial affairs. If the Native people are to surrender to these conditions, their future is in danger. This is probably the most acute and important question of the day. If the black man is not yet prepared to assume responsibility, his intelligence must be trained to modern standards of thought, action, and accomplishment. In the Native Territories the children are running wild, uncared for and neglected. Thousands of children of school age are outside the schools, and there has been no system yet developed by the brain or genius of those responsible to bring them inside, and every attempt to establish some form of compulsory education of a simple kind suitable to the circumstances of the people has been turned down. The children are drifting away from parental control, and the fathers and mothers, occupied with beer drinks, are callous and indifferent. It is a woeful story of administrative drift, and will bring up a problem in time.

#### THE MISSION SCHOOL SYSTEM.

Except the missionaries, there is nobody apparently responsible in a sense for the thorough organisation and prosecution of Native education in the Native Territories to-day. The result is a line defined by the third and fourth standards, and many of the brightest lads have turned away in disgust at the system which has more discouragements for ministers, teachers, and scholars than progress. As for the red man, the tribal Native, he regards things disdainfully. Nor is there any machinery to compel them to educate; with the result that thousands of children of school age are running wild, uncared for, outside the class room. Female children are withheld, and the most pernicious habits are showing themselves plainly. The Magistrates declare that they have no powers to enforce attendance (a make believe), and as this view is too often expressed before the heathen and reactionaries, the teachers are ignored, while the Education Department threatens to close, and does close, schools for insufficient attendance. The position has long been an impossible one, yet nothing is done from year to year. For those who have education there is a lack of opportunities for further development for one reason and another. Not until the parents are enabled by some unheard-of measures to regain and exercise the authority which they ignorantly believed could be resigned to the teacher, preacher, and magistrate, can there be any hope that the Native youth will learn to respect themselves or entertain much respect for the white man.

#### AN EDUCATIONAL RENAISSANCE WANTED.

Failure is writ large on the institutions of this benighted country, and we shall have to revise our ordinary standards in the education of the Native youth, and to impress upon the Natives the duty of being true to themselves first, before they can be true to others. They have their duty also



to their chiefs and elders. Education should not lower their esteem for these, rather should it encourage them to help their race to move forward together. We want more patriotism of the larger sort, and less self-seeking on the part of the older educated class, more self-respect and fear of God, than a base servility and fear of the face of clay, and there need be no fear of the black man's loyalty either to his own people or to his white masters. As it is here, so it is in all parts of Africa. The white man's Government, his civilisation, and his Christianity are on their trial, and the white man's education will require more study in the future than it has had in the past. In the ultimate, it rests with the black man to develop his own character, and the sooner he awakes to the fact that education cannot be "fed into him with a long spoon," the sooner he will rouse and exert himself. At present we are living a hybrid form of social life, half European and half Native, "embodying a travesty of both, and possessing neither the safeguards nor the bottom ethics and principles essential to a wholesome and healthful social order."

But can the white man train the black man? That Europeans possess in an eminent degree those qualities which go to train and discipline mind and body is unquestionable. They possess the key, but it is not everyone who has the gift to impart it. Some few have the sympathy and self-sacrifice to do so. But it is doubtful if Colonial policy, which is as jealous of its supremacy as the Roman Catholic hierarchy of Ireland, will undertake the task. Why has Native education halted and hesitated, faltered and latterly failed? What are we going to educate him for? is the usual question with the candid Colonist, who feels that there is trouble enough with the numerical superiority of the Bantu without adding a trained and disciplined class to the problem. And so it is with the Army and the Church. "Our first duty is to our children" is a common expression with the Colonial Press, and sure enough the Government, sheltering behind many strange sophisms, promptly drops the black man out of the School Board Act (1905) and the clergy were perfectly agreeable.

Is the white man capable of educating the black man? Until a system of education is evolved which will grant the coloured races full scope to develop to the best of their abilities; which will not rob them of their taxes to educate the whites; which will not frown on their independent efforts to help themselves; but which will give a "square deal" to everybody, and accepting the dictum of President Roosevelt of "all men up" and not some men down, will encourage the highest education, or the education best adapted to the development of the black man, there is little hope of Native education being pulled out of the slough into which it has fallen in South Africa. The white man is perfectly capable of educating anybody, some are capable of educating everybody, but few are devoted enough to educate the black man, unless it pays them otherwise, and when you find them they rank among the exceptions, the saints and martyrs, or Exeter Hallites (accursed of South Africa). When we speak of educating the black man, we mean an education that expresses the highest devotion to the profession, and the most unselfish self-sacrifice for the best interests of the coloured races. In great part the black man must now look to his own race to do this. The cultured black man and woman will have to be enlisted to help the white man educate their kinsmen, but that without enmity, but with gratitude and friendliness, for there is no colour line in the realm of human emancipation, and the best white man and the best black man are called to the work of regenerating Africa.

#### A PROBLEM FOR ALL CHRISTIAN EDUCATORS.

The problem of Native education is a problem for all those who are interested in the future of the African races for good. The call is also to the cultured women of character of every race to raise the standard of Bantu womanhood, for womanhood is the basis of race greatness in any country and in every age, and the Native women are too much the slaves of

circumstance. All honour to those white women who are braving public censure in the Transvaal and elsewhere in an endeavour to protect the sable daughters of Africa from the degradation of city life. But is it not the duty of the State to educate its ignorant classes? It has accepted that responsibility indeed in regard to the Europeans, but not the Bantu. Hitherto Provincial Councils have not been answerable for Native education, which, by the Act of Union, was placed under Parliament and the Minister of Education; but latterly an influential Commission, on which Natives were admitted for the first time to a seat on equal terms with the whites, was appointed by the Administrator of the Cape Province to enquire into the whole subject of Native education, the report of which is still awaited. It is now universally recognised by all the leading countries at the head of which is, probably, the United States of America, that the chief hope of individual and national advancement in the future lies in education. That being so, we also believe that a radical reform and renaissance in the education of the Bantu is necessary, and we propose to discuss this question with the Government, which has shown itself both willing and accessible to consultation by the Natives. For the first time in the history of South Africa the Union Government has signified, through the Prinvincial Administrator, its intention to take over Native education. We would, therefore, appeal to the clergy of every denomination to bring the whole weight of their influence to bear to introduce the compulsory system into the locations and urban areas right throughout the Union at the earliest possible period; the erection of central schools and gymnasiums and play-grounds for the instruction and discipline of the scholars; normal schools for the education of Native teachers; vacation courses for teachers in mission schools; the establishment of a revenue to feed and clothe indigent and starving children attending the schools in these locations; and the abolition of all private denominational schools in these locations, if possible, without prejudice to the co-operation of religious bodies in the Christian education of the Natives on an organised system, mutually co-operative with the State.

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## CHAPTER XI.

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### STATUS OF THE BANTU RACES UNDER THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Thanks to the interim Government of the Right Hon. General J. C. Smuts, P.C., who succeeded to the Premiership on the lamented demise of the Right Hon. General Louis Botha, P.C. (27th August, 1919), signs were not wanting of a disposition toward a more rational view of the inter-racial situation as it applied to the Native on the part of the Government. Having regard to the many serious situations arising at the Rand, creating widespread anxiety, suffering, and unrest, it was refreshing to observe a laudable desire manifested to secure the co-operation of the most intelligent educated Natives on Commissions of Enquiry. It was regarded as a portent of good, and hopes were entertained that such a course would help to mitigate the harshness underlying the old conditions, and by thus affording an opportunity for setting up machinery for mutual discussion and consultation, many of the evils complained of might be alleviated and in time removed. But it did more. It was also an indication of the Government's intention to follow the precedent set for the first time by General Louis Botha, and announced in the House of Assembly, in which he was supported by the leader of the Opposition (Sir Thomas Smartt), that the intelligent educated Natives should be consulted before legislation affecting them was passed. Formerly there had been no genuine desire evinced

on the part of the authorities to recognise these. It has always been a charge against Great Britain that she has never shown any capacity to educate peoples of non-British race for which she was politically responsible in the arts of self-Government. The alternatives that she has invariably set up have instead countenanced oppression or repression of the legitimate hopes and aspirations of the people. Combinations of autocracies equipped with formidable mechanical appliances of destruction challenge the liberties of the more virile and progressive elements. This is the situation confronting the Natives in South Africa. The real problem has been to get the Government and the whites to defer to a century of education and progress and to realise and recognise that education leads, and that educated men and women of character and self-respect will not submit to be forced back to barbarism, or to be treated as wards in "pupillaris" without classification from the mass. Hitherto the attempts of educated Natives to speak for their ignorant brethren have been resented, the policy being to govern the Natives according to their own tribal customs, usages, and methods, and that educated and illiterate, Christian and heathen, should evolve for themselves a method of Government consistent with their environment. That meant that they should be content to remain in barbarism. Hence a policy of "laissez faire," a policy which, as was inevitable, has ended in vacuity and drift. It is possible that the present Government is now anxious to readjust its policy in accordance with new conditions and new requirements. If so, we may congratulate the interim Government of General Smuts in facing a long delayed reform, and we shall rejoice that "another stone is securely fixed in the edifice of national justice."

#### ESTRANGEMENT OF THE PEOPLE.

But that a deep estrangement exists between governing and governed was remarked by the late Senator T. L. Schreiner, who said, in supporting a motion of enquiry into the Native labour strikes: "The educated Native had lost all confidence in the Government of the whites; it was a sad situation, but they had to face the fact that the whole Native administration stood condemned because the Natives no longer trusted them" (Session June, 1919). But, broadly speaking, is there a genuine desire on the part of the Government to readjust its policy? The various Commissions of Enquiry recently set up to investigate the condition of Native affairs, and the efforts thereby made to reduce confusion in the administration in the four Provinces of the Union; and to bring the laws affecting the Natives into system, order, and relevancy, and to secure greater efficiency of management, deserves at any rate the thanks and moral support of the country, and especially of the Native people, who are most affected. It is attempting the task for which we petitioned the Imperial Government some two decades ago. Especially are the Bantu indebted for opportunities to submit evidence, and to appear personally by elected representatives before these Commissions. In this way defects in systems will be revealed, and departures from sound Government, which have been responsible in the past for this estrangement between rulers and ruled, stand a good chance of being corrected. These are portents which the tutored and unprejudiced mind, carefully following the trend of events, will remark with satisfaction.

#### A SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE.

The present Government must be judged on its merits. It is not responsible for the mischiefs of the past. The Prime Minister recognises that the Natives are "losing faith in the missionaries" and in the "white man's education and the white religion." He observed, in introducing his new Bill on Native Affairs in the House (second reading), that whereas formerly the Natives did look up to and trust the white man's justice and sense of fair play, "to-day an altogether different spirit was arising." And he continued as follows, *inter alia*:—



" . . . . It might be argued that the Natives had no constitutional outlet for their grievances, they had no direct representation, and nowhere was there provision for them to express their grievances. . . . . The present tendency should be arrested, not only for the sake of the white people, but for the sake of the Natives as well. He was perfectly convinced that the white people meant to deal justly and fairly with the Natives. He felt certain that there was no idea of the exploitation of the Natives. I believe that the Native policy will be the real test of white statesmanship in South Africa, and if we fail there we shall fail irretrievably."

His further declaration, in which he was supported by the most eminent and experienced members of the House of Assembly, that "the future relations of the whites and Natives should rest upon a basis of mutual confidence and trust," is a clear and emphatic acknowledgment of the responsibility of the Government to treat the Natives with a sense of justice and a spirit of tolerance. The endorsement by the Parliament of the Union of South Africa of these sentiments should go far to reassure the Native mind and to dispel the feeling, of which the Bantu have been painfully conscious, that the black man has no rights which the white man need respect. The declaration of these high sentiments places a new complexion on the relation of the races to those who are intelligent enough to contrast them with previous conditions.

#### INJUSTICE AND REPRESSION.

We have hitherto entertained the belief, to which we still hold strongly, that, as fact and experience show in this narrative, the case of the whites has latterly rested upon injustice and repression, the full significance of which may be observed in the tampering with the citizen rights of the Bantu in the old Cape; and the setting up of a "Colour Bar" in the Constitution of the Union. All this has followed as a result of the Chamberlain-Milner-Mining-Monied policy, which, exploiting the hereditary prejudices of the ignorant white population of South Africa, and aiming at the economic subjugation of the Bantu for profit, imposed conditions of "no franchise" for the coloured people in the Northern Provinces; opposed the extension of the liberal provisions of the Cape Constitution to those States; aims at the substitution of the reactionary methods and policies associated with the Transvaal Grondwet to the Cape; the exclusion of the Natives from a definite place in the Union; the destruction of the Veto; the denial of future citizenship by closing the door of the franchise to seventy-five per cent. of the whole population of the country; the sudden imposition of the Poll Tax with untoward results to a section of the Zulus (Bambata rebellion); the exclusion of the Natives from the Defence Act; the introduction of the principles of segregation and the Native Lands Act (1913), and the domination of Parliament by those sinister anti-Native policies which have intensified the racial prejudices of the whites, and the slogan of Africa: a White Man's Country. These and a thousand other "pin-pricks," which might have easily precipitated rebellion with any other race but the Bantu, with their marvellous patience and staying powers, and which perhaps would have been welcomed with glee by the protagonists of a machine-gun civilisation—"Now we will show those niggers who we are"—are responsible for the strained relations.

"And someone laughed; Men heard the laugh  
Across the earth and sky."

And, further, the security of our tenure of land, and of every conceivable right, property, and interest in this country, is jeopardised, and as a result of the unsatisfactory position of the franchise, which effectually lowers his status as a class, he is made a plaything of the mob (give a dog a bad name!) and his personal security threatened. Further, without

proper representation in Parliament, his labour is exploited and placed under the control and guidance of the few; liquor is put within easy reach and, without an effective voice in Parliament, his mouth is stopped, whilst economically he is being bled to death and reduced to degradation. We find no frank recognition of this in the Prime Minister's remark: "It might be argued that the Natives had no constitutional outlet for their grievances." We trust that we are not misinterpreting the Minister.

#### THE ARBITERS OF PUBLIC POLICIES.

The Bantu, or at any rate those intelligent sections who are represented by political, educational, and religious associations, had observed during the Anglo-Boer War, and after, that various powerful interests sought to become the arbiters of the public policies, and by the influence of their allied Press organs, and the immense material resources at their disposal, they succeeded in imposing their will upon the country, even to becoming the repositories of the public conscience, and directing the future destiny of the Native Question during the period of reconstruction down to the present time. There was an inordinate desire to consolidate everything, including trade interests, mining monopolies, and Native labour, and the inception and pursuit of these objects was sought to be effected by a Union centralised in an autocracy of wealth which has succeeded in setting up anti-racial aspects of a most formidable kind, and we believed that the purpose of the Act of Union at which they aimed was apparently to give permanent character to their policies by writing them into the texture of the laws and statutes of the country.

#### THE NATIVE QUESTION A DOMESTIC ONE.

The Right Hon. the Prime Minister of England, in referring back the Memorial of the Transvaal Native Congress to the Union Government to deal with, said, *inter alia*: "It is a cardinal axiom of British policy to avoid any interference with the internal affairs of any self-governing portion of the Empire," and that "the South African people control their own national destiny in the fullest sense." If the inference raised here is that the Native Question is to be regarded as a "domestic" question after the manner of the Negro question in the Southern States of America, we must most firmly but respectfully refuse to accept that construction, a conclusion which is forced upon us by the ostracism of the Natives from party politics and the Union by general consent of the whites, who, it would appear from the terms of the Union Act, are alone entitled to be regarded as the "people" of South Africa. Whether such a view of the relation of the Native people as "property" or "furniture" will be accepted by the coloured races of South Africa remains to be seen, but that it was so regarded is an inference raised by the manner in which our rights and interests have been dealt with by both contracting parties to the Union of South Africa—the Imperial and South African Governments; as well as in the constant references to a "white man's country" and "unity of the whites" in the speeches and public utterances of Governors and statesmen and the Press of the country. As we have said, no formal notification has been made to the Native people that Great Britain intended to recede from her former position as protector of the aboriginal races. This, we venture to state, should have been done by His Majesty's High Commissioner (Lord Milner) before withdrawing from South Africa, and the Bantu are justified in regarding his retreat from a perfectly constitutional position—that of Trustee of the Rights and Protector of the vital interests of His Majesty's black and coloured subjects—with grave suspicion, especially as they felt it to be his reasonable duty to set up proper safeguards for the perpetual protection of those rights by taking sureties or guaranties for their faithful observance by those upon whom the Imperial Government was about to confer Responsible Government (we refer to the newly formed States of the Transvaal and Free

State), and later on the part of his successors from the Union itself. Notwithstanding that the majority of the people, white and coloured, had been relying upon the introduction of a Federal System of Government after the manner set forth by its original exponents from the days of Lord Carnarvon and Governor Frere to Sir George Grey and Cecil John Rhodes, who spoke for an honest federal system, and one which the Natives hoped would have included the Native Territories in its scope and constitution on a State basis, it was decided at the eleventh hour, suddenly and most precipitately, to change the character of closer union into the most conservative of exclusive unified unions from which the indigenous Native inhabitants were to be, and have been, effectually excluded, by the work of the noble Lords Milner and Selborne.

#### QUESTION OF JURISPRUDENCE.

There are questions of jurisprudence germane to the Imperial Government which may merit investigation by a Royal Commission of the British Cabinet or the League of Nations, in view of the expected entry of Basutoland and other Native Territories into a United States of South Africa. The exclusion of the Native Territories already within the Union, from Union on a Federal basis, and the Natives from its franchise, raises the question whether rebel States can dictate to the Sovereign Government the rights of loyals, or whether the Sovereign Government, in view of its prerogatives, can permit any of the parties to a Union to act in default or to the injury of the rights of third parties by interfering with rights already in existence. Had they given us a real Federation, it is probable that the Natives in the Cape itself would have been represented by at least two States in the Union, apart from the other independent Native States or Protectorates like Basutoland. Thus in a true Federal Union extending from the Cape of Good Hope northwards, the Native States would have entered the "United States of Africa" as independent, self-governing units, on an equal footing with the rest. But the narrow, suspicious, conservative policies of South African partisanship lack vision, and can only see things from a perspective beclouded with bile and black labour. The vision of some men is a white man's country in a black man's territory extending from the Cape to Cairo, in which the whites should rule over a submerged black proletariat of helots and slaves. But it is only possible on one condition, viz.: co-operation in all things essential with the coloured races, and not coercion. If there is no higher ethical motive than this—all for profit—at the foundation of the white Empire, it will be like Nebuchadnezzar's brazen image, dazzling to the eyes and imagination of its devotees, but the stone which the builders rejected may have something to say about its clay feet.

#### EFFECT OF A UNIFIED UNION.

The movement of such a unified Union and its effects on the Native Question, can be traced throughout the course of subsequent history, beginning with the attempt to suspend the Cape Constitution, which was regarded by the Natives as concealing a design to deprive them at one stroke of their established franchises, and which they vigorously protested against, although the majority of the Bantu were not alive to the full significance of this attempt to "readjust our Native policy in accordance with new conditions, and new requirements." It was only too apparent and clear from the conduct of those who stood for the representation of the country at this period that they had not arrived at a proper appreciation of the real status of His Majesty's black and coloured subjects, or preferred perhaps to act in despite of the sacred traditions and obligations of the British Sovereignty and Parliament to them. Thus the question was asked at the time in answer to the fulminations of the allied capitalist Press against the Natives: "Are the Natives British subjects, or merely subjects of Britain?" That question will require interpretation, and we believe that it cannot be properly interpreted except by Great Britain herself, for, as



we said at the time, "it is clear from the attitude of those who raise the cry for suspension that they have seemingly no desire to recognise the status of His Majesty's black and coloured subjects, and that there are those who fear that treachery may trifle with the liberties of the people. Is it suspension merely with the promise of restitution of those liberties, or is it absorption that is aimed at, and the reduction of the Natives of this country to the position of political serfs and helots, who are given the shadow but not the substance of true freedom." And we added: "Our troubles in Africa are only commencing, unless Mr. Chamberlain can guide the ship of State safely past the many shoals and hidden dangers in the way—all the more dangerous because unseen."

#### THE MEMORIALISTS OF THE TRANSVAAL.

Nor, we regret to say, can we accept the answer of the Union Government to the Native Memorialists of the Transvaal of the 10th June last (1919) as finally disposing of these difficulties, where it proposes to "secure a fair measure of representation to the Native people" by Advisory Committees under the Natives Administration Bill, "rather than any crude scheme of confounding the political responsibilities and obligations of races whose capacities are as the poles asunder." Such a reply, we need hardly say, cannot remove the anxiety which from the first has been very keen and intense that they are offered the shadow but not the substance of true representation, and the protection of their just rights and equal treatment with the rest of the community under the Constitution of the Union as citizens of a free Empire. Your petitioners held and expressed themselves to that effect in a petition to the Supreme Government shortly before the peace terms were announced after the Anglo-Boer War. They prayed that "the question of the enfranchisement of His Majesty's Native and coloured subjects should not be left to the decision of the States, and that the time was opportune for the British Government to enforce its own laws in this respect upon them (the Republics)," believing, as they stated, that "a sound construction of the Constitution must allow to the Imperial Legislature a discretionary right to interpret the powers which ought to be carried into execution by the Federal States, as a sacred obligation imposed upon them in the fulfilment of the duties, obligations, and high responsibilities it assigns to them, with a view to the protection and advancement of the best interests of the people, and in a manner best calculated to obtain those ends." And your petitioners concluded that "as they believed the end and aim of good Government was true freedom and the liberty of the subject under the British Government, it was legitimate, constitutional, reasonable, fair, and just for the Government to impose its will upon its own States in regard to the protection of the franchise, and the extension of all the privileges of the Constitution to the Native and coloured subjects of His Gracious Majesty in South Africa in the same manner as to the white race."

Similarly, a deputation of the Native Congress Executive of the Cape, which waited upon the Right Honourable Joseph Chamberlain on the occasion of his visit as Colonial Secretary to South Africa at the conclusion of the War (November, 1902), claimed that the reservations contained in the original peace discussions at Middleburg with the rebellious States of the Transvaal and Free State (1901), and in which the British Government agreed that "the legal position of Kafirs will be similar to that which they hold at the Cape," and which was further supplemented by the Colonial Secretary in these terms: "We cannot consent to purchase peace by leaving the coloured population in the position in which they stood before the war, and with not even the ordinary civil rights which the Government of the Cape Colony has so long conceded to them"—should be fulfilled. Mr. Chamberlain shuffled, said there was no such thing as civil "rights," and that no stigma or indignity was conferred by withholding privileges from people who were just emerging from barbarism. It will be observed that

the main issue—"equal rights for all civilised men South of the Zambesi"—is evaded. There was no claim made for the enfranchisement of imbeciles, lunatics, illiterates, or the barbarians, but the fit and qualified. And similarly the reply to the Transvaal Memorialists is evasive. Let there be no misconception. The question is whether all Natives are to be treated alike, the cultured with the most ignorant, the backward with the most advanced: if by Empire we are to understand "reaction," and by "Imperialism" the ascendancy of one dominant class over another, in place of mutual aid and common co-operation between subjects of one Empire: whether "Commerce" is to take the place of Common-wealth; servitude of free service; exploitation and unregulated industrial competition unrestrained by any barriers of conscience, morality, or conduct, in the relations of the whites to the blacks, and in despite of what Mr. Asquith describes as "the constraining force of conscience and humanity." If this is the case, then by all means let us have the truth about it. On the other hand, we have certain precedents to claim as partners in the State contract from which it is endeavoured to exclude us.

### THE STATE CONTRACT.

What is the truth about this great question of civil liberty and the necessity of the franchise which Mr. Chamberlain described as a privilege, and Lord Milner considered to be a perquisite of the whites to be given or withheld at their leisure? It was a doctrine of the distinguished English economist Malthus enunciated over a century ago and irrefutable then as now that: "It has been found by experience that civil liberty cannot be secured without political liberty . . . and in addition to its being necessary in this point of view, its obvious tendency to teach the lower classes of society to respect themselves, by obliging higher classes to respect them, must contribute greatly to aid all the good effects of civil liberty." Perhaps the greatest evil arising from a denial of civil liberty is the stigma of inferiority placed on a class, taking its source at the fountain of Government, and exposing those discriminated against to the public contempt, ill-treatment, and oppression, from which they cannot be well protected. Thus Mr. Chamberlain's doctrine is not true in fact or in the face of history and our own experience. The very fact that the Natives of the Cape Colony have a vote, even although some do not realise its value, is the main reason why they are adequately protected, and enjoy a status thereby superior, and a more tolerant treatment than their kinsmen of the other States of the Union, who do not enjoy the franchise. The truth must therefore be recognised without equivocation that the withholding of adequate representation to any class or race of men means their virtual enslavement. And, said Lord Macaulay in a notable speech: "It is a principle never to be forgotten, in discussions like this, that it is not by absolute, but by relative misgovernment that nations are roused to madness. It is not sufficient to look merely at the form of Government, we must look also to the state of the public mind." South Africa has thus become by the misconduct of statesmen a theatre of mistaken policies, unstable opinions, unconstitutional practices, contrary policies, halting decisions, false beliefs, generating disorders which in turn produce evils which make history. That is the position with the Native Question to-day. This was remarked by Senator Hulett in the Senate (June, 1919), who observed that there was a feeling, not at all unjustified, that the Natives were not being properly treated, hence their efforts to secure fuller consideration for their views. This is anarchy! But let there be no mistake about it. If the whites do not reverse these views and seek to regard these races from a higher and more human standpoint and perspective, the outcome can only lead in one direction, viz., that the condition of the Native and Coloured people would become permanently that of "hewers of wood and drawers of water," and their final extinction as a national entity only a matter of time.

Now, such a policy would indeed subserve the aims and interests of a "White South Africa" of sorts, but surely they do not expect the black man to submit to be permanently ridden in this fashion while they perpetrate their sorceries on his back (Kaf-Kwelimfene). Neither can we be expected to note the trend of such policies without misgiving. Such policies are fatal one way or another, and unfortunately in the shape of the Colour Line they have permeated every department of the national life of the Union. While we also realise that the development of the Bantu must be naturally slow, that they are easily victimised for that reason; that healthy growth must spring up from within; and that much that might suit Europeans could not be wisely applied to the mass of the people, irrespective of the circumstances of their own native environment, susceptibilities, and genius: all this does not affect the question that the enlightened, educated, intelligent, qualified, capable, and fit should be debarred from a reasonable share of direct representation in Parliament and the main Government of the country, or the management of their own internal, social, local, and domestic needs. Every man has an indisputable right to equal opportunity for moral, physical, and intellectual growth, and in order to control these great principles intelligently the right of every civilised man to a voice in the control of his destiny in an ordered civilisation is also indisputable. It is just here that we fear the Union Government is unsound, or does not fully realise its great and important responsibilities, if we may be permitted to say so. The social welfare of any people must rest upon a foundation of intelligent liberty, freedom, and opportunity, and where these foundations are disturbed by unwise, illiberal, or immoral State methods or policies the people cannot set up permanent processes for real progress and stagnation ensues. This is the point the Bantu have reached to-day. The progress we have been making by slow and painful steps has been stopped, and we are now living in an atmosphere of arrested development while the grosser evils of society are playing upon us, and economically we are being bled to death. Hence, with the increase of poverty comes unsettlement of the normal Native mind showing itself in continual disorders and eruptions on the national body politic, creating strikes and other commotions. The seeds of anarchy and revolution are sown here, springing out of the soil of legislative and administrative impotence and unwisdom, and this, we take it, is the meaning of the "rather infelicitous references" of the Transvaal Memorialists regarding the loyalty of the Bantu to the British Throne. The questions of loyalty or disloyalty need not be lightly held, "to point a moral or adorn a tale." In short, we would have the Government realise that it is not by keeping the Natives apart from European institutions, laws, land ownership, franchise, and other forms of Government that will solve the Native problem so-called, but that it is necessary for all the people, without regard to colour or previous condition to co-operate "in all things essential to mutual progress," for the grand objects of the commonwealth, happiness and prosperity of the people. Such we were pleased to see were the views of that distinguished public servant of the Government in the Native Affairs Department, the late J. B. Moffat, some time Chief Magistrate of the Native Territories of the Transkei, no "conventional formalist," but a fearless exponent of right dealing and fair treatment, who made this pregnant observation in his report as Commissioner (1918) into the causes of the Native labour strikes and unsettlement at the Rand. "As long as Natives are denied the rights of citizenship as Parliamentary voters, there can be no real contentment in the country." We believe that these sentiments will find increasing support on the part of the saner class of Europeans in South Africa, who, we sincerely trust, may yet bring this country back to common sense, and help to re-establish on unquestionable authority those saving principles of sound and righteous Government which will shed lustre on the State and honour upon humanity and so save the country from anarchy and despair.



## BANTU CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

And on the immediate and primary question of political representation of which it is alleged that Natives have no traditional experience there are numerous authorities to prove that Bantu Constitutional Government was a feature of the communal system. To say that there is no analogy, or to disclaim any similarity of relationship between the "needs and claims of the heterogeneous tribes" with those of the "racial entities of European civilisation" depends, of course, greatly upon what such claims are. That the question of representation cannot be so treated is common cause for neither white nor black, primitive races or highly civilised peoples disagree on the foundation principles of human Government. Taking their rise in family life, they are developed in State systems, and there is no race, civilised or savage, which does not derive its authority from the sanctions of the people except a tyranny or despotism. We have two examples from the evidence of Sir Theophilus Shepstone and King Cetewayo before the Native Laws and Customs Commission (1882-3), probably the most important Commission, as it is the most exhaustive and impartial enquiry into Native Affairs that this country has undertaken. Says the former: "The power (of the Chief) cannot be exercised by him safely except with the consent of the people. That consent is given at assemblies of the chief men of the tribe. . . . These headmen again go upon the opinion of their constituents or people under them," etc., etc. (page 19). The Zulu Chieftain Cetewayo said: "The King cannot make a law against the wishes of his Chiefs." As the Chiefs are the representatives of the people, this should be decisive. But we might quote Mr. J. M. Orpen, member of several South African Parliaments, who says: "The whole system was normally Constitutional Government from bottom to top, though there was often mis-government, as there is with us, and greater instability, on account of wars and revolutions." And further he says: "In my extensive study of and acquaintance with various tribes, at many of whose councils I was present, I found that so absolutely Parliamentary was their system of Government from bottom upwards, that is, from the village council to the national gathering, that unless all the members of the organised sections of any tribe, or aggregation of tribes under one rule, had been duly and publicly summoned, nothing that the Chief and Council decided was considered valid or binding." Besides these authorities of the first class, we have the Report of the Lagden Commission on Native Affairs (1903-5), composed of men from all parts of South Africa, all opposed to "any Parliamentary franchise for Natives," but "all of them eventually reported in favour of it in some form or other." On page 90 we find, under the heading of "Representation," the following testimony: "Under their ancient tribal system the Native people were not without representation, and the wishes of the tribe at all times played an important part in guiding the policy of the Chief's Government" (vide Address, J. M. Orpen to Lord Selborne, 1909).

## REPLY OF SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS.

It is difficult, therefore, in view of these evidences, to understand what the Secretary for Native Affairs intends to convey by the remark that "the South African people control their own national destiny in the fullest sense," as interpreting Mr. Lloyd George. Or yet the further observation that "political representation is totally foreign" to the Natives in their tribal state, while the Government "recognise the value of the services of the Natives, and the propriety of their attitude during the war." The Secretary demurs to the "conception by the Congress that the heterogeneous tribes, whose internecine feuds have been stayed by the march of civilisation, are indeed a nationality with similar needs and claims to those of the racial entities of European civilisation," and observes further as follows: "Let there be no misconception. The Natives of South Africa have their definite place in the national life of South Africa, of which they

are a valuable asset, they have their peculiar requirements, and their specific claims to development, but these interests lie within, and cannot be divorced from the ambit of the South African Government." It then refers to the late Booker Washington, who, it affirms, "laid down a truth far wider than its local application," when he said, addressing a mixed audience at Atlanta: "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." And on the general treatment of the Natives, it observes: "The description of the conditions under which the Natives live in the Union, 'as a veiled form of slavery,' goes far to invalidate any claim by the Congress for the consideration of their memorial as a serious document. It can scarcely be denied that special regulations must exist in the peculiar circumstances of South Africa, where various races in every stage of development are juxtaposed. It is not denied that the existence of such special regulations may involve hardship to individuals, but the policy of the Government is to administer these regulations as liberally as may be, and in a manner as little irritating as possible. If concrete grievances can be submitted they will be carefully considered, but vague general statements afford little ground for practical discussion." All this may be very true, and it may also be true that lack of proper organisation and general education make the "representative character of any Native Congress dubious." But is there not also a lack of vision in the outlook of the Government in not frankly recognising that all classes have got to live together in this country, and that it is the duty of each to cultivate mutual understanding, and that the ignorance of the most backward races furnishes the strongest ground why their "needs and claims" should appeal to the help and sympathy of the strong and enlightened. "Noblesse oblige."

#### DUTIES OF THE NATIVES.

Your petitioners realise that they have also duties toward their more backward countrymen, in dispelling ignorance and superstition, promoting industry, agriculture, education, public health, better housing, religion, temperance, and morals, to mention only a few of the many problems confronting the race, and which lie within the ambit of the Union, and which comprise their "peculiar requirements and their specific claims to development," besides responsibilities to fulfil towards the Government. But we submit that such duties cannot be performed satisfactorily to all parties unless the Government can rid itself of the false notion that the two races must be kept eternally running on parallel lines, two streams that never meet, except in unavoidable labour conditions—in a word, menial and servile. Of course, such a view might well conceive a dream of autocratic feudalism, where the whites are permanent masters and the blacks and other coloured elements a submerged class of moral, physical, and intellectual slaves. That this view is honestly held in South Africa, and the coloured races regarded as being by Nature and heredity an inferior order of beings, is not singular in a country whose traditions are tainted with slavery. That it is consciously or unconsciously held as an article of faith that the inferior must give place to the superior in knowledge and wisdom, is the very tap-root of the doctrine of the "survival of the fittest." And thus if the coloured races are to be allowed to exist, it must be "merely as an accident arising from the impossibility of doing without them," and so long as they are necessary to the "development of industry" they will be "tolerated" we quite believe. We are also pleased to see that the Government also recognises that the Natives are, somewhat in common with the above sentiments, "a valuable asset in the national life of South Africa."

We have always believed that Parliament, as representing the nation, stands on a declared legal system, reduced to order and definitely established on the principle that the supremacy of the law is the best and surest guarantee of freedom. The reality of her presence was a guarantee to those nations whose territories England invaded that, having shaken the foundations of their ancient tribal or communal systems which gave adequate representation and protection to every member of the community under constitutional safeguards (vide Native Laws and Customs Commission Report, 1882), Great Britain would establish and maintain under her superior jurisdiction law, order, and justice, as a duty of the Sovereign Power recognised as such by the loyal services and allegiance of the Native people as subjects and citizens of the Empire equally with the whites. But the obligations and responsibilities of the Imperial Power towards the Native and coloured people of South Africa have not been adequately or satisfactorily discharged by the simple assertion that it is a cardinal principle of British policy to avoid interfering with the internal affairs of the Empire when she has herself neglected, in the power of her sovereign authority, to furnish those means of protection which were urged upon her before she signed the Draft Act of Union by those who had every right, title, and precedent to claim that protection. What is the inference to be drawn from these conditions? We believe that Mr. Chamberlain himself furnished the answer when, in reply to those who criticised his policy in this respect in the House of Commons on his return from South Africa, he said: "And what are you going to do about it, anyhow, when you have once given them Responsible Government?" Which, being interpreted, meant that he, as Colonial Secretary and Minister responsible for Native Affairs, had deliberately abandoned the Bantu to the tender mercies of the enemies of Native rights to do as they pleased with them. We regret to say that we were forced to accept this conclusion from his actions and attitude, and those of his colleagues and successors, who carried out this policy on his return to England. But we hold that no people can be said to be free who have only a nominal share in conferring the powers of Government, and that in an indirect form in one Province (Cape), while they are excluded altogether from representation in three of the other Provinces of the Union, in which they are subjected to the most rigorous forms of oppression, and deprived of legitimate opportunities of advancement. Nor can permanent peace be expected through such compromises on those eternal principles which are guaranteed both by Divine revelation and the experience of nations for a wisely arranged social system which must rest upon the sure basis of legal order, political freedom, and religious liberty. As the one—the Divine order—is guaranteed by the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe, so the other, the Civil Order, should be guaranteed by the sovereign will of the people who are, or ought to be, the faithful servants of the Most High God, and the Monarch as supreme representative of law, order, and justice. Thus the experience and wisdom of the past shows to all intelligent minds that there is a Providence that shapes the paths of nations as well as individuals, which means that those opposing elements that refuse to honour the laws and Constitution, and to apply them justly and impartially to the whole people, are enemies and traitors to the best and highest interests of the State and people. It appears moreover, that the British Government has endorsed the action of its Ministers by upholding this policy, which aims at the subversion of Native rights by ratifying the Act of Union in the Parliament of Great Britain against the wishes and solemn protests of His Majesty's Native and Coloured subjects, who petitioned against it to the King, and Lord Milner has been instructed, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, to refer the reply to the Native Memorialists to the Union Government. We shall, therefore, as loyal subjects, as in duty bound, approach the Union Government, fortified, we trust, by the knowledge that the first step towards a



realisation of these great ends has been taken by the present Parliament in the new Native Affairs Bill just announced, and that the Europeans, as Trustees and Arbiters of the future relations of all the people, will be duly convinced of the truth of the Prime Minister's remark that: "The Natives could not be ignored, but we had to carry them with us, and only in this way could we build on a sure and lasting foundation."

#### POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY.

A Union which ignores the Native people as an important factor in the Government of the country is a denial of the Universal Public Right for which England, America, and the Allies entered the Great War. This is one of the principles for which it has required a war to reveal the perfidy of British statesmen who have left South Africa the seeds of anarchy and civil war as a result of their dishonesty. It is for the maintenance of this great principle—the principle of popular sovereignty—that we raise the Standard of Liberty and summon all honest men and women, all patriots, all parties that cannot be bought, sold, or tempted by gold, to unite under it. "I bid the people beware," said Abraham Lincoln in 1861, "of surrendering the power which they possess, and which, if surrendered, will leisurely be used to shut the door of advancement for such as they, and fix disabilities and burdens upon them until all liberty is lost."

As for the Natives, there is no desire to exaggerate the errors of Government, and a basis of approach for the discussion of reforms is indicated by the announcement that: "It behoves us as complainants not only to send forward grievances, but to suggest remedies. It is not sufficient to point out defects in the State system, but educated Natives must regard it part of their duty to evolve a constructive scheme of Native Government which would commend itself to reasonable men as a practical substitute for the forms of Government or treatment complained of, and which they consider it would be desirable for the Europeans to pursue towards them. If it is admitted that the whites with their superior knowledge must govern in the interests of the various races composing South Africa, and especially of backward races like the Bantu, it must be granted and established as a definite claim that the right of consultation must be frankly extended to us as a fundamental right and a standing principle if good Government is to become possible."





# PUBLIC NOTICE

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The Native Question is the problem of South Africa, and one that still lies in the future. The Colour Question, according to that learned Negro, Dr. W. E. Burghardt Dubois, is the Question of the Twentieth Century, and must, therefore, claim the attention of the civilised world. The most important chapters, criticising the Chamberlain-Milner-Lagden-Selborne policy, have unfortunately been excluded owing to expense of printing and lack of funds. Our review of that policy covers the ground from the conclusion of the Anglo-Boer War to Union and after, and includes observations on the following subjects, inter alia:—

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2. The New Regime at the Rand. The Allied Capitalist Press. Attempt to Suspend Cape Constitution. Colonial Secretary's attitude creates anxiety.

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3. Mr. Chamberlain's Visit to South Africa. Injurious Speeches. The Economic Question and the Natives. The Pax Britannica in the Mouths of Statesmen. Lord Milner's Native Policy Developing. Native Taxation and Finance. Congress Executive (Cape) interviews Chamberlain. His Full Reply. Observations by the Native Press. British Policy Suspect.

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5. S.A. Native Affairs Commission (1903-05). Sir Godfrey Lagden's Career. His Regime as Chief Native Commissioner (Transvaal). As Chairman of the Commission. Policy of the Commission on Native Lands and Taxation. Hon. Mr. Lyttleton's Dispatch.

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6. The Commission's Report on the Franchise for Natives. A Basis for Compromise Advanced. Mr. W. T. Stead on the Doctrine of Race Supremacy.

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7. Natal's Native Policy. Natives and Indians. Infliction of New Poll Tax. Native Affairs Commission and Natal. Messrs. Moor and Leuchars as Secretaries for Native Affairs. Native Franchise in Natal. Mr. Winston Churchill on Lord Milner. Open Brutality of the Press. Petition by Thirty Thousand Coloureds to the King.



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Note.—Other chapters deal with succeeding Conventions prior to the Draft Act of Union. Lord Selborne's Regime. The Draft Act. Attempt on the Cape Native Franchise. Closing of the "Open Door" to Parliament at the Cape and in the Union to Non-Whites. The Natives' Land Act, 1913. The Attitude of the Church. Native Deputations to the King on Appeal. The Opening of the Great War in Europe (1914). The Relation of the Natives to the League of Nations.

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"The Problem of the Relation of Black and White in South Africa" is a historical retrospect and review from the earlier times of King James I. to the death of Queen Victoria (illustrated), which cannot be published owing to a lack of funds. Will publishers in England, the Continent, and America please note.

A. K. SOGA,

General Secretary,

Bantu Union of South Africa.

P.O. Box 46,

Queenstown.

South Africa.

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